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THE EMPLOYMENT OF NEGROES IN PUBLIC WELFARE
IN ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES, 1936 - 1949

Information Bulletin No. 17

North Carolina State Board of Public Welfare
Ellen Winston, Commissioner
Raleigh

In preparing this study, the writer has received many suggestions and assistance from many individuals and state agencies. To all of these, the writer is indebted. The names of those by name or official position could not be given for reasons of privacy.

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The first appreciation is to the writer's wife, who completed questionnaires and returned them. She also completed questionnaires of the state and county administrators of public welfare. These have been completed. Dr. Ellen W. Larkins, who has given her approval and guidance. The writer is indebted to the State Board of Public Welfare, North Carolina, for the use of their facilities and for the use of their records.

by

**John R. Larkins
Consultant on Negro Work**

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**North Carolina State Board of Public Welfare
Unit of Work Among Negroes
July 1951**

Mrs. A. E. Davenport, Secretary to the State Board of Public Welfare, North Carolina, for the use of their facilities and for the use of their records. The writer is indebted to the State Board of Public Welfare, North Carolina, for the use of their facilities and for the use of their records.

Although the writer has received many suggestions and assistance from many individuals and state agencies, the writer alone is responsible for the conclusions reached in this study.

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Although the writer has received much help from many persons and sources, he alone is responsible for the conclusions reached in this study.

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INTRODUCTION

"Public care and support of the aged, the dependent and neglected child, the physically and mentally handicapped, and others unable to provide for themselves, have been an accepted public policy for more than three centuries. The theory that taxpayers of the community must provide the necessities of life for those unable to provide such necessities for themselves came to this country along with the English settlers of the seventeenth century and first appeared in the colonies they established along the Atlantic Coast. They brought with them the theory already well-established in England that there must be provision at the expense of the taxpayers for those in need."¹

The early American poor laws followed English traditions and adopted the principle of local responsibility - requiring local authorities to report any person, who, "because of poverty, sickness, accident, or other misfortune was a miserable and proper object of public charity." As this country continued to expand, this principle of public responsibility for those in need moved across the mountains with the opening of the West. In every territorial legislature, it was written into the statute books almost from the first meeting of the first legislative assembly. In some of the newer states the principle of public responsibility was written into the first constitution and became a part of the basic law of the state.² Throughout the history of this country, public responsibility for those in need was a social welfare policy.

The year 1935 witnessed a sharp departure from the traditional pattern of providing financial assistance and services to specific needy individuals in this country. Prior to that year, the local community, cities, towns, or counties and some of the

¹Abbott, Edith, Public Assistance, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1940, p.3.

²Ibid., 4-5

states, assumed the responsibility of providing for the needy. The Social Security Act of 1935 attempted to provide for the general welfare of specific individuals or groups by establishing a system of Federal old-age benefits, and by enabling the States to make more adequate provision for the aged, the blind, and dependent and crippled children. Maternal and child welfare services, public health, administration of unemployment compensation laws, and the establishment of a Social Security Board were included in this important piece of legislation.

After January 1, 1940, the Social Security Board created a merit system that was to establish and maintain personnel standards on a merit basis; however, the Board did not have any authority with respect to the selection, tenure of office, and compensation of any individual employed in accordance with the methods. This merit system was put into effect in all states participating in the Social Security program. The purpose of the merit system was and continues to be to secure the best possible persons to administer the program. The Department of Public Welfare in each State was designated as the agency to administer the public assistance program, and in some instances other Social Security programs. Where there were not already established public welfare agencies, necessary legislation created them.

As a result of the Federal Government's participation in this broad program of Social Security and contributions to its financial support, the number of individuals making application and receiving financial assistance and services in practically all States, counties, and cities increased sharply after 1935. This increase in applicants and recipients necessitated the expansion of the program and additional personnel to do the job. A large number of people who had been employed in teaching and other areas along with those in private social work fields entered the public welfare field. The private social agencies, institutions, and programs in the North and West over a period of years had trained personnel and provided leadership in the social welfare field. The majority of the accredited schools of social work are located in those regions. As a result of the absence of the highly organized and developed private

social work agencies and programs, the South did not have available as many trained and experienced individuals for the administration of the public welfare program during this period as did some other regions. At the beginning of the Social Security program, there were possibilities of the South having a greater need for the benefits of the program and trained personnel than other sections of the country because of the socio-economic conditions of the region.

The presence of a large Negro population living in the South created another problem. The mores and cultural patterns were conducive to creating a high rate of dependency and poverty among this group. Frequently, they were denied employment opportunities and when they were given work, they were relegated to the most hazardous and low-paid categories. Usually, Negroes occupy an unfavorable position in the socio-economic, cultural, and political systems of the country at large - this is especially true of the South. This situation has been responsible for many of their problems of adjustment. In the South, the Negro's plight is often precarious. Frequently, the group is found in a socially and economically disadvantageous position which results in a disproportionate number making application for and receiving financial aid or services from social work agencies or programs.

The Social Security Act included social insurance that provided benefits enabling the aged to retire, and unemployment compensation for those unemployed. The majority of Negroes, in this region, have not been eligible to receive benefits from social insurance because they have been employed in areas not covered by the program. The Negroes covered by Old Age and Survivors Insurance and eligible for Unemployment Compensation have been and continue to be small in proportion to the number gainfully employed in the total population. The majority of Negroes gainfully employed in the United States, especially the South, are in personal and domestic service, agriculture or farming, and unskilled occupations. This situation has often resulted in large numbers of Negroes needing financial assistance and services from social welfare programs.

Since 1936, public welfare has become "big business" in the United States. Millions of people are compelled to look to public social welfare programs for maintenance or existence. Large numbers of Negroes are receiving financial assistance and services from public welfare agencies all over the country.

Numerous questions may be raised concerning public welfare and the Negro throughout the country. It is important, however, to determine the status of the group in the South where most of the Negroes are located. To a large number of Negroes and whites in the South, the public welfare program has offered the only economic security they have known. The financial assistance received from the public welfare departments, through the general relief and public assistance programs, is the largest amount of money many Negroes in this region have ever handled at one time. Although this situation is true for both colored and white, Negroes have fewer opportunities to improve their conditions, because of the attitudes and cultural patterns of this region.

Several questions may be raised regarding Negroes' relationship to the public welfare programs of this region. Are Negroes employed to work in the public welfare program with their own group in the South, in proportion to their numbers receiving assistance? If so, what types of jobs do they hold? Are they able to advance according to their abilities and training? What are the salaries they receive? If they are not employed where there are large numbers of Negroes receiving financial assistance and services from public welfare departments and where there is a large number of Negroes in the total population, why? What are some of the problems confronted by qualified Negro social workers attempting to secure employment in the public welfare programs of the South? What are some of the problems of the administrators who are desirous of employing Negro social workers? What are the trends since the advent of the Social Security Act? What is happening to the southern Negroes pursuing professional social work education at the schools of social work throughout the country? Are they leaving the South because of limited opportunities

or because they are not interested in their native states? All of these questions should be given serious consideration and answered if possible.

For several years, the number of Negroes pursuing professional social work training throughout the country has increased. In all of the Southern states, excepting South Carolina, Mississippi, and Tennessee, Negroes have been the recipients of our-of-state aid to study social work. In some publicly administered and tax-supported programs in the South, such as education, health and agriculture, and welfare, Negroes have been increasingly utilized to work with their own group.

There has been little research done in this area in the South and the country at large. There is a need for more objective research so that intelligent planning and utilization of all resources may be developed to improve the organization and administration of the public welfare program for all people of the region.

It would seem the answer to these questions and others could only be secured through study of the employment of Negroes in public welfare in the South. This project was designed to secure pertinent data on the number and distribution of Negro professional social workers in the public welfare programs of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia From July 1, 1936 to June 30, 1949. The types of positions held and salaries received; the academic achievements and employment experiences of the workers; the length of time employed in the present job and previous positions held; some of the reasons these workers did not return to their home communities to seek employment; the methods or techniques utilized to secure positions in the public welfare program; all of these have been given attention. An attempt has been made to determine the reasons administrators are able or unable to employ Negroes as professional workers. The trends in the employment of Negro social workers in public welfare have also been analyzed.

What are the general policies or procedures in the selecting of professional personnel for the public welfare program? On what basis is personnel selected? Are Negroes given equal employment opportunities under a merit system of selecting qualified personnel?

Two questionnaires were developed to secure the desired information from Negroes in social work, who have been and/or currently are employed in professional positions with public welfare departments, and from administrators responsible for the program. A third questionnaire was developed to secure data from administrators where Negroes have never been employed in the public welfare program. Theses and reports of students, who have studied the administration and other aspects of public welfare, have been consulted. Federal and State reports, newspapers, and professional publications have been utilized as resources for this study.

It is hoped that these data will contribute to a better understanding of some of the problems confronted by Negro social workers as they attempt to secure employment; will throw some light on problems confronting administrators, who would like to employ Negro social workers; and will stimulate the employment of qualified Negro social workers in the public welfare program. Whenever the general public and those responsible for the administration of the public welfare program understand some of the problems involved, there are excellent possibilities of effecting changes. These changes can only be made through an enlightened public and logical thinking about the situation based upon factual data.

There are possibilities that better social work would be done among Negroes if more Negro social workers were used. With this study as a foundation, a program to employ more Negroes in social work positions with the public welfare program could be outlined. Improved methods and techniques to secure employment in this field should also be derived from a study of this type. It is a sound principle to attempt to understand all of the factors and causes responsible for a situation, if we hope to achieve effective results.

Part I

NEGRO SOCIAL WORKERS AND THEIR JOBS

Negro Social Workers and Their Jobs

"In the category of social welfare and religious workers, we have only recently found Negroes," wrote Carter G. Woodson.³ Woodson believed that the United States Bureau of the Census had given an incorrect estimate of the number of Negroes in the social welfare field in its 1930 enumeration. He cited the fact that the census of 1930 listed only 20 Negro social workers employed in Florida. However, in Jacksonville, at that time, according to investigation, the number of Negroes actively engaged in social work exceeded this number. "The first Negroes employed in social welfare were listed in 1920, when 1,231 were discovered. In 1930, there were found 1,313, of whom 40 per cent were males and the others females. These were distributed mainly in the large urban centers where the Negro population was considerable."⁴

Charles S. Johnson, in his study of The Negro College Graduate indicated that Negro social workers did not appear until around 1900.⁵

Theodore Brameld writing on "Educational Costs" in Discrimination and National Welfare presented a vivid picture of some of the professions as they relate to Negroes. Taking eighteen areas with dual school systems, he stated, "in proportion to each racial population, there are five times as many white doctors as Negro doctors; four times as many white dentists; thirteen times as many white pharmacists; thirty-six times as many white lawyers; four times as many white social workers; two hundred and three times as many white engineers."⁶ These data give some basis for comparison of the employment of whites and Negroes in specific professions and geographical areas.

³Woodson, Carter G., The Negro Professional Man and The Community, The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., Washington, D.C., 1934, p.291.

⁴Ibid; p.291.

⁵Johnson, Charles S., The Negro College Graduate, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1938, pp. 95-99.

⁶Brameld, Theodore, "Educational Costs" Discrimination and National Welfare, ed. by R.M. McIver, New York; Harper and Brothers, 1949, p.42.

Ira De A. Reid's article in The Pittsburgh Courier for Saturday, July 1, 1950, did not present an encouraging picture of the social welfare field for Negroes. Dr. Reid, outstanding and nationally known sociologist, interpreter of current social thought and conditions, in his article "Fifty Years of Progress in the Professions", made this observation concerning the welfare profession: "All in all, this largest of Negro professions remains the pariah of the field, the least prestigious, the most discriminated, the most vulnerable to the exploited theme of 'service' and in many instances, the least rewarding." Reid believes, however, that the profession (social welfare) has one undeniable credit: "it has provided the skill and interest that have made the change in the Negro's thinking and acting one of the most revolutionary changes of the past fifty years."

All of these outstanding sociologists, historians, and educators were discussing some aspects of the field of social welfare as it related to the Negro. They were not primarily concerned with the public welfare aspect. Their observations were not for a specific region but the nation at large. It is safe to assume that these conditions existed also in public welfare and are applicable to the Southern region.

It was practically impossible to secure a total picture of the number and distribution of Negroes employed in public welfare in the eleven states of this study. It was not possible to contact some of the workers, supervisors, and administrators because they had left the region and could not be located. The failure of some administrators and Negro social workers to cooperate in the supplying of the necessary data was another handicap. This was the situation in Georgia where approximately 50 or more workers had been employed in the Fulton and Chatham County Departments of Public Welfare during the period of the study. A number of these workers had left these communities and their whereabouts were unknown. Both of these counties had employed Negroes in supervisory capacities and had large Negro staffs.

The presence of the Atlanta University School of Social Work - the largest institution of its kind in the world for training of Negro social workers, and among the largest in this country -- in Fulton County (Atlanta, Georgia) stimulated the use of Negro social workers in that community. The Fulton County Department of Public Welfare was among the first in the South (and perhaps the country) to use Negro social workers in supervisory capacities in the public welfare program. Without the inclusion of some of the workers, supervisors, or administrators from these two communities, the study to that extent is inadequate in presenting a comprehensive picture.

Based on correspondence, conferences, and personal interviews with state administrators, personnel directors, research directors, county directors or superintendents, supervisors, and Negro social workers, it was possible to secure 396 completed questionnaires. Of this number, 206 were completed by the workers who had been and/or are now working in the public welfare program as professional social workers. Fifty-seven were from the administrators, superintendents and supervisors in city or county units where Negro social workers had been and/or are currently employed. One hundred and thirty-three were from county and city administrators, superintendents, directors, and supervisors where Negroes had never been employed.

The largest number of questionnaires completed and returned was from Louisiana. From all available data, the largest number of Negro workers was employed in Georgia. All of the workers employed in Louisiana were located in the Orleans Parish excepting one who had been employed in the Caddo Parish. Sixteen North Carolina counties employed Negro social workers. North Carolina had the largest number of workers employed in communities that were predominantly rural.

As indicated above, information was also secured from the individuals who were supervisors, superintendents, or administrators in counties or cities where Negroes had been and/or are currently employed. Through the support and cooperation of these individuals, over 90 per cent of these questionnaires were completed and returned.

One of the most encouraging aspects of this study was the large number of questionnaires completed and returned by the administrators, superintendents, directors, and supervisors from communities where Negroes had never been employed. Over 90 per cent of these questionnaires were returned and completed.

In several of the states, there were 100 per cent returns of these questionnaires. Several administrators requested a summary of the findings as soon as the study was completed in order that they might have a guide to assist them in planning for the employment of future personnel.

The ratio of females to males among Negroes engaged in social welfare pursuits and particularly public welfare was significant. According to these data, public welfare was dominated by females in these eleven states. Of the 206 completed questionnaires from the Negro social workers, 180 were for females and 26 were for males. The reasons for such a large proportion of women could only be conjecture. The low salaries that were paid may have exerted some influence on this situation. A number of the females were married and had husbands to rely upon for their major support, while the salaries derived from public welfare were only used to supplement the husbands' earnings.

Present Social Work Position and Agency

The Negro social workers who were employed in public welfare continued their interest in this field, if their present employment is used as a criteria. Of the 206 persons included, 192 were currently employed; 177, or 92.2 per cent were in public welfare (Table 1). Of the three women in non-social work, there was one supervisor of teachers, a librarian in a college, and one operating her own business. It was encouraging that so many of these individuals remained in the public welfare program. With the demands for social workers by Federal governmental agencies, the American Red Cross, and other programs or agencies, it would have been possible for these workers to secure more lucrative employment in other types of social work. In view of this fact, it may be safe to assume that these workers were profoundly interested in the public welfare program.

Table 1. Present Social Work Position According to Agency, by Sex

Present position	Total		Male	Female
	Number	Per cent		
Total.....	192	100.0	25	167
Public Welfare.....	177	92.2	20	157
American Red Cross.....	1	0.5	-	1
Family Service.....	2	1.1	-	2
* Other	6	3.1	2	4
Non-Social Work.....	6	3.1	3	3

*Other includes two psychiatric social workers, a child welfare worker with a private agency, a housing project manager, a Y.W.C.A. executive secretary, and a day-care nursery operator.

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Present State of Employment and Types of Positions Held by Workers

During the period of August 1949 to August 1950 when the data for this study were being collected, 192 of the workers were gainfully employed. Of this number, 124 were engaged in social work pursuits and six in non-social work. Fourteen were unemployed. The job mobility of the workers was relatively limited.

Louisiana had 20.4 per cent of the workers born within her borders as compared with 21.9 per cent employed there. Of the 45 employed in Louisiana, 42 were case workers and three occupied supervisory positions (Table 2). North Carolina, with 19.4 per cent natives of the State, also showed an increase of one per cent in the employment status. As in Louisiana, the largest number of workers were engaged in case work practices. There was one worker on the administrative staff of the State Board of Public Welfare in North Carolina.

Florida with 4.4 per cent of native workers as compared with 9.2 per cent of workers employed showed the largest gain of any of the states. There were 19 workers residing in Florida - 15 were employed in public welfare, two in private social work programs and two unemployed. Other states reporting increases in the number of Negro social workers employed were those native to their states and the per cent of increase were as follows: Kentucky 1.9, Tennessee 2.4, and Virginia 3.7. There were 35 workers employed in the Virginia public welfare program. Of this number, 33 were case workers and two supervisors. Five of these workers were employed by the Children's Bureau of the State Department of Welfare and Institutions of the Commonwealth of Virginia. Four were child welfare workers and one had the classification of supervisor. All of these workers were attached to the State office to work with children and their problems.

Eight per cent of the workers were born in states other than the eleven in this study (Table 20). Slightly over three per cent of the workers had left to seek employment in states not in this study. Only seven were reported in this category - four employed in social work and three unemployed.

The causes or forces that were responsible for these changes from State of birth to present residence and employment for these workers were numerous. In another section of this study, an attempt is made to secure some of the reasons that the workers sought employment in social work in their home or non-home communities. Several of the female workers married and left the region to be with their husbands in the armed forces. Other workers enlisted in the armed services or defense positions and did not return to their former communities and states. Whatever the causes that lie behind the decrease or increase in current residence and employment or state of birth, it appears significant that the majority of the states have increases of workers employed over the number born in the state.

Table 2. Present State of Employment and Types of Positions Held, by Sex

States	Total		Case work trainee or assistant		Case worker		Child welfare		Pro- bat- tion coun- selor		Super- visor		Admini- stration		Group work		Other		Unem- ployed	
	Number	Per- cent																		
Total.....	206	100.0	1	6	12	120	3	31	2	2	2	3	1	1	0	1	4	3	1	13
Alabama.....	5	2.4	—	—	—	4	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Arkansas.....	4	1.9	—	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Florida.....	19	9.2	—	—	1	13	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	2
Georgia.....	13	6.3	—	—	—	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kentucky.....	12	5.8	—	—	—	8	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Louisiana.....	45	21.9	—	1	7	33	—	1	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mississippi.....	2	1.0	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
North Carolina...	42	20.4	1	3	2	12	2	5	2	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	3	2	1	7
South Carolina...	7	3.4	—	—	—	3	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
Tennessee.....	15	7.3	—	—	—	12	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Virginia.....	35	17.0	—	1	2	20	1	9	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Other.....	9	3.4	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	3

Present Employment and Types of Jobs

Slightly over 67 per cent of the workers were employed as general case workers at the time of the study. There were 132 in the case work group, two case work trainees, and five case work assistants (Table 3). Two workers were employed with veterans' hospitals as psychiatric social workers.

Child welfare case work positions ranked second among the workers. Sixteen per cent were in this category. There were 31 females and three males. In some communities, the Juvenile or Domestic Relations Court and welfare department worked together and the personnel used by the courts was supplied by the welfare department. Three workers in North Carolina were employed as probation counselors by welfare departments. A worker was also employed as probation counselor with the Federal Government in Washington, D. C.

Only three per cent of the workers had advanced beyond the case work level. There were five supervisors and two administrators in this category. Three of the supervisors were in Louisiana and two in Virginia. All three of the supervisors in Louisiana were employed in the Orleans Parish of Public Welfare and worked in New Orleans. The Norfolk, Virginia City Department of Public Welfare employed one of the Virginia supervisors and the other was with the Child Care Bureau of the State Department of Welfare and Institutions in Richmond. North Carolina provided an opportunity for an administrative position for a male worker. The female worker in the administrative classification moved from North Carolina to the State of Washington and organized a day nursery.

Group work did not attract these workers. Only one female transferred from public welfare to group work.

There were four classified as other in non-social work, three males and one female. Two of the males were letter carriers with the United States Postal Service. The other served in a custodial capacity in a post office. The female in this classification operated an eating establishment with her husband.

Table 3. Present Employment and Types of Jobs Held, by Sex

Employment status	Total		Male	Female
	Number	Per cent		
Total.....	206	100.0	26	180
Unemployed.....	14	6.8	1	13
Employed.....	192	93.2	25	167
<u>Social Work</u>				
Case work trainee.....	2	1.0	-	2
Case work assistant.....	5	2.4	1	4
Case worker.....	132	64.1	12	120
Child welfare.....	34	16.5	3	31
Probation Counselor.....	4	1.9	2	2
Supervisor.....	5	2.4	2	3
Administration.....	2	1.0	1	1
Group work.....	1	0.5	-	1
Other.....	1	0.5	1	-
<u>Non-Social Work</u>				
Teaching.....	2	1.0	-	2
Other.....	4	1.9	3	1

Length of Time Employed on Present Job

The average (median) length of time that all workers had been employed on their current jobs was 2.7 years. For females, it was 3.3 years and for males 2.3 years. Slightly over 40 per cent of the workers had not been employed on their present jobs this long compared with about 35 per cent who exceeded the average (median). The largest number of workers were in the less than six months and the three to four years groups (Table 4). Each of these categories had over 21 per cent of the workers. Only 10 per cent reported the same employment for 10 years and over. Almost one-half of the females reporting on this item were in the less than six months and the three to four years categories. The largest number of males were in the one to two years classification.

Table 4, Length of Time Workers Were Employed on Present Job,
by Sex

Length of time	Total		Male	Female
	Number	Per cent		
Total.....	192	100.0	25	167
Less than 6 months.....	42	21.9	4	38
6 months to 1 year.....	2	1.0	-	2
1 to 2 years.....	36	19.3	7	29
3 to 4 years.....	43	21.9	5	38
5 to 6 years.....	22	12.0	-	22
7 to 8 years.....	19	9.4	4	15
9 to 10 years.....	7	3.6	1	6
Over 10 years.....	20	10.4	4	16
Not reported.....	1	0.5	-	1

Monthly Salary and Present Position

The average (median) monthly salary for all workers gainfully employed was \$197.72 (Table 3). Approximately 45 per cent of the workers were receiving monthly salaries above the median. Twenty per cent were earning monthly salaries in the \$201-220 range. Of the 39 in this range, there were 21 case workers, 15 child welfare workers, one case work supervisor, and two in the category of other. Eighteen per cent were receiving monthly salaries of \$261-180. Of this group, 34 were general case workers and one a probation counselor. Over 13 per cent gave their monthly salaries as \$221-240. As in the other salary ranges, case workers were in the majority. Nineteen case workers, six child welfare workers, and a college librarian composed this group. Over two per cent received salaries of \$281-300 monthly. Five workers reported their salaries in this range. Of this number, three were employed in the public welfare program, two were case work supervisors with county and city departments of public welfare and one was connected with a state department. Two were employed as letter carriers with the United States Post Office. Only two per cent of the workers received monthly salaries over \$300. For the four reporting their salaries in excess of this amount, two were classified as psychiatric case workers in veterans' hospitals. One was serving as a probation counselor with the Federal Juvenile Court in the District of Columbia, and the other was a supervisor of county teachers. There were no workers employed with state, county or city departments of public welfare earning salaries exceeding \$300 monthly.

Table 5. Monthly Salary¹ and Present Position, by Sex
August 1949-1950

Monthly salary	Total		Case work trainee or assistant		Case worker		Child welfare		Probation counselor		Supervisor		Administration		Group work		Teacher		Other	
	Number	Per-cent	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Total.....	192	100.0	1	6	12	120	3	31	2	2	2	3	1	1	-	1	-	2	4	1
\$141-\$160.....	5	2.6	-	1	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
\$161-\$180.....	35	18.2	1	1	2	30	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
\$181-\$200.....	67	34.9	-	4	2	49	1	9	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
\$201-\$220.....	39	20.3	-	-	4	17	2	13	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
\$221-\$240.....	26	13.5	-	-	2	17	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
\$241-\$260.....	6	3.1	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
\$261-\$280.....	2	1.1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
\$281-\$300.....	5	2.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
\$301-over.....	4	2.1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Not reported...	3	1.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1

¹The average (median) monthly salary was \$197.72.

Total Length of Time Employed and Number of Jobs in Social Work

From all indications, these workers were making social work their life time field or profession. Over 20 per cent had been employed in social work 10 years or more (Table 6). Of the 45 reporting their employment in social work for a period over 10 years, 10 had held only one job during this period. For the remaining 35, 12 had two jobs, seven had four jobs, and five of the group held five jobs.

Over 50 per cent of the workers had held only one job - 16 males and 96 females. Of this number, 27 had been employed three to four years, while 26 were in the less than six months category. Forty-eight persons had held two jobs. Of this number, 12 had been in social work 10 years and over. Of the 30 holding three jobs in social work, 10 had been employed in the profession 10 years and over. Table 6 reveals that eight had held four jobs; seven had held five jobs; and one had held six jobs. All of the eight holding four jobs had been employed a total length of time exceeding eight years.

The reason that there was not greater job mobility among this group of social workers is a matter of speculation. However, subsequent studies should attempt to secure the data relative to causes of the adherence of this group to such few jobs over a prolonged period of time. During the period of this study, there were demands for individuals with social work experience and education by many agencies and programs. These jobs were not restricted to the South, but to the nation and many of them had international aspects. Certainly the agencies benefited by retaining these experienced staff members.

Table 6. Total Length of Time Employed and Number of Jobs in Social Work, by Sex

Length of time	Total		Number of jobs									
			One		Two		Three		Four		Five	
	Number	Per cent	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Total.....	206	100.0	16	96	5	43	4	26	1	7	-	7
Less than 6 months....	26	12.6	4	22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6 months to 1 year....	11	5.3	-	10	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
1 to 2 years.....	25	12.1	5	11	1	7	-	1	-	-	-	-
3 to 4 years.....	38	18.5	3	24	-	6	1	4	-	-	-	-
5 to 6 years.....	26	12.6	-	11	-	9	-	5	-	-	-	1
7 to 8 years.....	21	10.2	2	8	1	7	1	1	-	-	-	1
9 to 10 years.....	13	6.3	-	2	2	2	-	6	-	1	-	-
Over 10 years.....	45	21.9	2	8	1	11	2	8	1	6	-	5
Not reported.....	1	0.5	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-

Methods Used to Secure Present Positions

The methods used to secure employment in practically all vocations in our society are important to most individuals. Sometimes knowing the "right" person and where there are available jobs are very necessary items. The methods used by the workers in securing their positions were numerous. Usually a combination of methods was reported. A total of 234 reasons were given by the 192 workers employed at the time of this study (Table 7).

Forty-one per cent made direct application to the agency where they were employed. Referral by a merit system along with other methods was the approach of 32 per cent (several of the administrators and workers stated that large enough numbers of Negroes were not taking merit examinations and getting their names on registers for referral to positions whenever they became available). Over eight per cent owed their positions to the recommendation of a friend and six per cent had contacts with others that resulted in their current employment.

School or university placement services were reported as only two per cent of the methods used. Although these workers did not give credit to school or university placement services in the securing of employment, the majority of the schools of social work have excellent promotional programs to assist their graduates in their efforts to secure employment. Some of the supervisors and administrators advised that the recommendations given by the schools were the determining factors in the employment of a considerable number of workers. There were more assisted in securing positions than indicated by the replies.

Promotions or transfers within the agency accounted for two workers. This was due largely to the limited opportunities available to the group in supervisory and administrative positions. Seven gave reasons other than those that were listed. For instance, a worker did field work at the agency while a student in a school of social work and so impressed the superintendent with his ability that he was given a position on completion of his studies. In another case, a director of the

Division of Child Welfare of a State Welfare Department contacted a school of social work and was given several names. An individual was selected from the group. In one community a local Men's Civic and Business Club advised the superintendent of public welfare that the organization would help support the local program through working for the election of Commissioners who endorsed the program. However, the superintendent was requested to employ a Negro worker if the Commissioners supported by this group won. This worker was employed on the basis of this agreement.

In another state, a request was made for a worker by a group of Negro citizens during the early depression period. The local authorities complied with the request of the group and when the emergency relief programs were terminated and public welfare was operating on a permanent basis, this worker was retained.

Still another worker was unable to secure paid employment for her services but did such an excellent voluntary job that she eventually was added to the staff.

The methods used by workers to secure their positions did not reflect any great uniformity. The general conclusions that may be drawn are that several factors influenced the methods used. It is safe to assume that the general community attitudes toward members of a minority group, the educational level of the general community, the influence and interest of professional groups among Negroes, the availability of personnel, all had a bearing on this situation. It is also a safe assumption that the techniques or methods and approaches made by the earlier workers were generally different from the more recent. During the period when a large number of these workers were employed, public welfare developed from a local or state program to one of national scope.

Table 7. Methods Used by Workers to Secure Present Position,
by Sex

Methods	Total		Male	Female
	Number	Per cent		
Total.....	234	100.0	29	205
Direct application to agency..	96	41.0	11	85
Merit System referral.....	76	32.5	8	68
Recommendations of a friend...	20	8.5	4	16
Through contact with others...	15	6.4	4	11
Through personal efforts.....	6	2.6	1	5
School or university place- ment service.....	5	2.1	-	5
Promotion or transfer within the agency or organization...	2	0.9	1	1
Other.....	7	3.0	-	7
Not reported.....	7	3.0	-	7

Reasons Workers Returned to Their Home Communities to Work

Negroes in the South have long been given an opportunity to teach their children in public schools. Except for these large numbers of openings in the teaching profession, employment opportunities have been greatly limited in other public or tax supported programs. Recently, however, there has been an increase in the number employed as farm and home agents with agriculture extension programs. Health educators or workers, nurses with public health programs of cities and counties, truant or probation officers, and police officers are some other areas where employment opportunities are developing for Negroes in county and city government. The employing of Negro social workers with the public welfare program has been consistent with trends in these other fields or professions. A relative comparison of the gains made in each of these fields, during the period of this study is not possible at this time due to the paucity of data.

One hundred and forty-eight reasons were given as being responsible for these workers returning to their home communities to work (Table 8). Almost 43 per cent listed family reasons. Over 32 per cent gave living at home as their second reason while six per cent indicated home was the only place available. For those giving the latter reason, there was no indication of a desire to transfer or leave home if the opportunity presented itself. Several of the workers reported a combination of reasons for working at home. They did not indicate the reason that was the most important in their particular case. It was significant that such a large number evidently preferred to live at home.

Table 8. Reasons Workers Returned to Their Home Communities to Work, by Sex

Reasons	Total		Male	Female
	Number	Per cent		
Total.....	148	100.0	17	131
Family reasons.....	63	42.6	5	58
Like living at home.....	48	32.4	4	44
Only place available.....	9	6.1	4	5
Financial reasons.....	8	5.4	1	7
Housing.....	1	0.7	-	1
Other.....	2	1.3	1	1
Not reported.....	17	11.5	2	15

Reasons Workers Did Not Return to Their Home Communities

The number of persons in various vocations who are desirous of working in their home communities and the reasons why are not generally known. It is believed that the majority of individuals are interested in securing employment in home communities, if opportunities are available. Usually, when individuals leave home to seek employment elsewhere, there are compelling forces responsible. Over 70 per cent of the workers were employed in their home state at the time of this study.

The reasons social workers did not return home were significant. Over 38 per cent advised that no, or poor, opportunities were responsible for their not returning home (Table 9). Better opportunities elsewhere constituted 18 per cent of the reasons compared with nine per cent who expressed their preference for working away from home. For the 11 reporting other reasons, two wished to live away from home with newly-acquired husbands.

It would only be a matter of conjecture to make any sweeping statements relative to the reasons Negro social workers in this region did not wish to return to their communities. However, no, or poor, employment opportunities undoubtedly have been and continue to rank high among the major causes responsible for the relatively small number of Negroes employed in public welfare in the South.

Table 9. Reasons Workers Did Not Return to Their Home Communities to Work, by Sex

Reasons	Total		Male	Female
	Number	Per cent		
Total.....	75	100.0	17	58
None, or poor, opportunities.....	29	38.7	7	22
Better opportunities elsewhere.....	14	18.7	6	8
Preferred to work away.....	7	9.3	2	5
Family reasons.....	3	4.0	-	3
Financial reasons.....	3	4.0	1	2
Other.....	11	14.7	1	10
Not reported.....	8	10.6	-	8

Part II

PROFESSIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

OF THE

NEGRO SOCIAL WORKERS

Educational Achievements of Workers

The majority of the social workers employed in the public welfare program had educational qualifications that were relatively high. For a profession that is as young as social work and in view of the relatively short period that Negroes have been employed in the public welfare field, this is encouraging and significant.

Eighteen per cent of the workers had earned the Master's degree (Table 10). Of the 38 earning this degree, 29 were females and nine were males. Two females held two Master's degrees, each having one Master's in social work and the other in a related field. Four per cent had pursued graduate studies beyond the Bachelor's degree but had not obtained a degree.

Two year diplomas or certificates were held by 13.1 per cent of the workers, 21 females and six males. In addition, over 12 per cent of the workers had nine months of social work education. Thus a total of 44 per cent of the workers had had at least one year of graduate training in social work. About five per cent of the workers reported six months and less of social work education. There were 11 in this group, nine females and two males.

Fourteen per cent of the workers did not hold any type of collegiate degree. All of the workers in this category were females. Practically all of the workers without college degrees had some college training. Thirteen individuals in this group had obtained some social work education.

Table 10. Educational Achievements of Workers, by Sex

Educational achievement	Total		Male	Female
	Number	Per cent		
Total.....	206	100.0	26	180
No degree..... ¹	29	14.1	-	29
Bachelor's degree.....	58	28.1	3	55
Master's degree.....	38	18.4	9	29
Graduate studies.....	9	4.3	-	9
2 year diploma or certificate.....	27	13.1	6	21
1 year diploma or certificate.....	3	1.5	1	2
9 months.....	26	12.6	3	23
6 months.....	6	2.9	2	4
3 months.....	2	1.0	-	2
Less than 3 months.....	3	1.5	-	3
Other..... ^a	3	1.5	2	1
Not reported.....	2	1.0	-	2

¹ Although there were 29 females without college degrees, 13 had secured social work education. Of this number, five had two year diplomas, two had one year diplomas, and one had nine months.

^a Two males held degrees in pharmacy and one female in library science. Both males had two years social work education also.

Educational Achievements and Age

The depression of the thirties accelerated the demand for social workers. This increased demand for social workers and the limited number of individuals available with the educational background for social work employment resulted in the widespread use of personnel from other fields. The need or demand for persons with special preparation in social work continued with the expanding, improving, and establishing of social service programs, agencies or departments dealing with individuals and their problems.

The Social Security Act of 1935 with its provisions for financial assistance and services to special groups gave impetus to the need for social workers. During this period, the demand for personnel greatly exceeded the supply. Social welfare agencies developed intensive recruitment programs to secure the needed personnel from fields or professions closely related to social work. The professions that had been previously offered to Negro personnel were limited mostly to education and theology. Therefore, the majority of the Negroes entering social work came from the teaching field. Members of this group had been largely educated to teach school through pursuing studies at normal or teachers' colleges. This, to some extent, resulted in many of this group not having collegiate degrees. The younger persons entering the field of social work, during the later period of this study, had secured more formal education and earned higher degrees. The raising of standards by the profession, schools and agencies, and the change in socio-economic conditions, were to an extent responsible for individuals securing additional training or education in the field of social work.

There seems to have been a close relationship between educational achievements and ages of the workers of this study (Table 11). Fourteen per cent of the workers had not earned a college degree of any type. Over 50 per cent of the workers in this category exceeded the age of 45, while six were under the age of 40. There were no workers less than 30 years of age without a college degree. All of the workers without college degrees were females.

Twenty-eight per cent of the workers had Bachelor's degrees, but no graduate training. Over two-thirds of these workers were under the age of 35.

The Master's degree was held by 18.4 per cent of the workers, 29 females and nine males. It has been previously cited that there were two females with dual Master's degrees. Twenty-three of the workers with Master's degrees were less than 30 years of age.

Although 29 of the females had not earned a Bachelor's degree, 13 had been able to attend schools of social work and secure special training. Five of this number had two year diplomas or certificates, two had one year diplomas, and one had nine months of social work education. Seventeen of the workers with two year certificates were in the age ranges of 35-39, 40-44, and 45-49. Ten workers holding Bachelor's degrees gave their ages as under 30, eight were between 30-34 years, and two were in the 25-29 years categories.

Slightly over 12 per cent of the workers reported nine months of social work education. Twenty-six, 23 females and three males, had studied this period of time beyond the initial college degree.

There are possibilities that several factors were responsible for the younger workers securing more college training, advanced degrees, or social work education, than the older workers. The National Youth Administration provided work scholarships for some students, several states provided out-of-state financial assistance and scholarship aid, and social agencies offered financial scholarships and assistance. Some of the females had brothers, fathers, and husbands in the armed services contributing to the support of their education. This enabled them to prolong their period of study. Some of the younger men were able to pursue their studies under the G. I. Bill.

Table 11. Educational Achievements and Age, by Sex

Educational achievement	Total		Age in years													
	Number	Per cent	20-24		25-29		30-34		35-39		40-44		45-49		50 and over	
			M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
Total.....	206	100.0	1	20	6	36	3	43	10	29	4	25	1	11	1	16
No degree.....	29	14.1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	4	-	8	-	5	-	10
Bachelor's degree.....	58	28.1	1	9	1	15	-	17	1	7	-	4	-	1	-	2
Master's degree.....	38	18.4	-	7	5	11	2	8	2	2	-	1	-	-	-	-
Graduate studies.....	9	4.4	-	-	-	2	-	4	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-
2 year diploma or certificate.....	27	13.1	-	-	-	2	1	7	3	5	2	6	-	1	-	-
1 year diploma or certificate.....	3	1.5	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
9 months.....	26	12.6	-	4	-	4	-	4	2	6	1	1	-	3	-	1
6 months.....	6	2.9	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-
3 months.....	2	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Less than 3 months.....	3	1.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1
Other.....	3	1.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-
Not reported.....	2	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1

Major and Minor Subjects in College

The reasons people select a major area of study, or specific subjects, in college are numerous and vary from college to college and individual to individual. As was to be expected, the majority of these workers pursued major subjects in the social science field (Table 12a). Over 22 per cent listed Sociology as their major field of specialization. Only 26, slightly over 12 per cent, had majored in the field of Education. This was interesting because traditionally, teaching, which requires a major in the field of education, has been the area in which the majority of Negro college students specialized. This has been the trend because of the employment opportunities available in teaching.

About nine per cent of the workers listed their major as other. Other included three majors each in Social Administration and Anthropology. The remainder were in the fields of Fine Arts, Philosophy, and Accounting.

Over 15 per cent of the workers reported their college minors as English, while over 14 per cent reported their minor area of specialization as Education (Table 12b). Nine per cent of the workers reported minors in Sociology. Of the workers who did not report this time, more than half - 29 - had not earned college degrees. These workers, however, had attended normal or teacher training institutions and largely concentrated on courses in Education

Table 12a. Major Subjects in College, by Sex

Subjects	Total		Male	Female
	Number	Per cent		
Total.....	206	100.0	26	180
English.....	25	12.2	2	23
History.....	16	7.8	4	12
Education.....	26	12.6	4	22
Sociology.....	47	22.8	4	43
Psychology.....	2	1.0	1	1
Language.....	5	2.4	-	5
Mathematics.....	5	2.4	-	5
Biology.....	4	1.9	1	3
Chemistry.....	4	1.9	3	1
Home Economics.....	7	3.4	-	7
Business Administration.	4	1.9	2	2
Economics.....	2	1.0	2	-
Social Studies or Science.....	29	14.1	-	29
Music.....	2	1.0	-	2
Other.....	19	9.2	-	19
Not reported.....	9	4.4	3	6

Table 12b. Minor Subjects in College, by Sex

Subjects	Total		Male	Female
	Number	Per cent		
Total.....	206	100.0	26	180
English.....	32	15.5	3	29
History.....	17	8.3	1	16
Education.....	30	14.6	1	29
Sociology.....	20	9.7	8	12
Psychology.....	7	3.4	2	5
Language.....	10	4.9	2	8
Mathematics.....	2	1.0	-	2
Biology.....	5	2.4	2	3
Home Economics.....	2	1.0	-	2
Social Studies or Science.....	17	8.3	3	14
Economics.....	4	1.9	-	4
Music.....	4	1.0	-	4
Other.....	11	5.3	-	11
Not reported.....	45	21.8	4	41

Schools of Social Work Attended
and Length of Time Attended

The Atlanta University, Xavier University, and Bishop Tuttle Schools of Social Work were the only professional graduate schools of social work open to Negroes in the South for a number of years. The Atlanta School was started in 1920. It was the first professional school of social work primarily for the preparation of Negroes admitted to membership in the American Association of Schools of Social Work. Social work at Howard University was inaugurated in September 1935. The curriculum began with a program of twelve courses, thus establishing the framework of a two-year program of graduate study. It was not until May 1946 that full accreditation by the American Association of Schools of Social Work was extended to the two-year program. This was at the end of the first year of operation of the new program. Although the Howard University School of Social Work admitted Negro students, it also admits members of other groups because of its Federal sponsorship and support.

Due to its location, early establishment and accreditation, the Atlanta School has attracted the majority of the Negroes who wish to pursue social work education in the South. Over one-half of the workers had pursued professional social work courses in accredited schools. Of the 111 reporting social work education, 39 per cent had attended the Atlanta University School of Social Work (Table 13). Thirty-one had earned Master's degrees in social work - 24 females and seven males. Twenty-five of the Master's degrees were earned at the Atlanta School, three at the Howard University School of Social Work, and one each at the New York and Western Reserve Schools. The University of Michigan's School of Social Work had been attended by one worker to secure the Master's degree in social work. Twenty-one per cent of those with social work education - 32 persons - had earned two-year certificates or diplomas. Twenty-one of this number had received their certificates or diplomas from the Atlanta School, four from Xavier University, six from Bishop Tuttle, and one from the University of Chicago.

Since approximately two-fifths of all of the workers had attended the Atlanta University School of Social Work as had 73 per cent of those with social work education, Dr. Forrester B. Washington, Director of the Atlanta School, was consulted to determine whether students attending this institution had major areas of specialization. He was requested to interpret the program of study relative to the necessity of a student having areas of major and minor specializations. "Any individual who has completed the requirements for the Master of Social Work degree or spent two academic years at the Atlanta University School of Social Work has chosen some area of specialization, and has taken a specialized sequence in that area, both in class room and field work. There are a few exceptions and they would be among the old graduates", advised Dr. Washington on this aspect of the study. The catalogues or announcements from other schools of social work - Howard, New York, Western Reserve, Chicago and Michigan - where workers had attended and received degrees or studied, were consulted. All of these publications revealed that it was practically mandatory for students to have some major field or area of specialization.

Fifty-four reported their major field of specialization and 26 did not. As was to be expected, the majority of the workers gave Case Work as their major field of specialization. Over two-thirds were employed in this classification - 33 general case workers, seven child welfare workers and one medical social worker. Five workers reported majors in Group Work and four in Community Organization. None of the workers had specialized in research or administration. Thirty of the workers had from less than three months to one year in social work. These workers did not remain in school long enough to secure a major field of specialization.

The 31 workers listed as other included those with college and Master's degrees in related fields. Some of them had taken introductory courses in college and a few social work courses in graduate schools that were in the sociology department.

Several of the workers who had Master's degrees and two year certificates listed their major fields of specialization as just "Social Work."

From the information submitted by this group on their minor areas in social work, there was more confusion than on their majors. Thirty-two workers supplied data relative to this category. Almost one-half of those with minors were in the area of group work. One-fourth had minors in some aspect of case work, five reported community organization, and administration and research were listed by one each

Table 14. Major Fields in Social Work, by Sex

Major fields	Total	Male	Female
Total.....	207 ¹	26	181
Case Work.....	33	4	29
Family Case Work.....	4	-	4
Child Welfare.....	7	-	7
Medical.....	1	-	1
Group Work.....	5	1	4
Community Organization.....	4	2	2
Other.....	31	8	23
No social work training.....	96	6	90
Not reported.....	26	5	21

¹One female had two majors.

Educational Achievements and Present Monthly Salary

According to the information submitted by the workers, there was either no or very little relationship between their educational achievements and their present monthly salary. Fourteen were unemployed at the time of this study, two did not report their educational achievements, and three did not report their monthly salaries. The holders of Bachelor's degrees were in every salary range excepting the \$241-260 and \$261-280. All workers with Master's degrees received salaries exceeding \$160 monthly. The majority of the holders of Master's degrees earned salaries above \$201-220 with 15 below this range. The average (median) monthly salary was \$197.72. Only 40 workers were below the median. Twenty-four of this number held Bachelor's degrees, seven Master's degrees, one had a two year certificate, and one had six months social work training. There were only four workers engaged in social work at the time of this study earning monthly salaries exceeding \$300. Two of this number had two year diplomas or certificates in social work. They were employed as psychiatric social workers with veterans' hospitals. The worker with a Master's degree receiving a monthly salary of \$301 and over was employed by the Juvenile Court of Washington, D. C. A county supervisor of teachers with a Bachelor's degree in elementary education accounted for the other worker in the \$301 and over monthly salary group.

There were two male workers with pharmacy degrees and with two year certificates in social work. One was employed as general case worker in a local department of public welfare and one was employed as manager of a low-rent housing project. The monthly salary of the former was \$261-280 and the latter \$201-220.

Table 15. Educational Achievements and Present Monthly Salary*, by Sex August 1949-1950

Educational achievement	Present monthly salary in dollars																							
	Total																							
	Number	Per cent	141-160	161-180	181-200	201-220	221-240	241-260	261-280	281-300	301-over	Unem- ployed		Not reported										
			M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F								
Total.....	206	100.0	-	5	3	32	5	62	8	31	2	24	-	6	1	1	5	1	1	3	1	13	-	3
No degree.....	29	14.1	-	2	-	2	-	12	-	4	-	4	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
Bachelor's degree...	58	28.1	-	2	1	21	-	20	1	4	-	5	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	2	-	-
Master's degree.....	38	18.4	-	-	2	5	2	6	2	8	1	5	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	2
Graduate studies....	9	4.3	-	1	-	2	-	3	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
1 year diploma or certificate.....	3	1.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2 year diploma or certificate.....	27	13.1	-	-	-	1	1	8	2	6	-	-	-	1	-	1	2	-	1	1	-	3	-	1
9 months.....	26	12.6	-	-	-	-	1	7	2	6	-	5	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
6 months.....	6	2.9	-	-	-	1	1	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3 months.....	2	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Less than 3 months..	3	1.5	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other.....	3	1.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Not reported.....	2	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-

*The workers supplied the information for salaries during this period

Membership of Workers in Professional Organizations

The opportunity to join and participate actively in professional organizations, associations, or societies is of vital importance for an individual's development in the social work profession. Apparently the workers in this study were interested in keeping informed on the activities and developments in their profession. One hundred and eighty-nine workers submitted information relative to their membership status with professional organizations. This represented 90 per cent of the total number included in this study. Of the 189 reporting on this item, 56 per cent held membership in professional organizations.

During 1950, the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Georgia, conducted a survey of the membership of Negroes in professional organizations. The professional organizations of lawyers, doctors, dentists, teachers, nurses, librarians, and social workers were consulted as to their membership policies concerning Negroes. The results of this survey were released in the publication of the Council, New South, for July 1950. The findings revealed that social workers at this time were the only group admitting Negroes to membership in all state-wide organizations without restrictions of race. The stated membership policies advocated by these state-wide associations or organizations were primarily concerned with qualifications and did not make any reference to racial identity. According to the information supplied by the workers, the state-wide professional associations or organizations were adhering to their membership policies and admitting individuals on the basis of their qualifications. Membership in professional organizations was reported by workers in the eleven states of this project. Approximately one-fourth of the total memberships in professional organizations was reported from workers in Virginia. Although the largest number of workers was employed in Louisiana, there were only 17 per cent holding membership in professional organizations in that state.

Table 16. State of Employment and Membership of Workers in Professional Organizations,¹
by Sex

States	Total		Membership			
			Yes		No	
	Number	Per Cent	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total.....	189	100.0	8	107	15	59
Alabama.....	3	1.6	-	2	-	1
Arkansas.....	4	2.1	-	4	-	-
Florida.....	16	8.6	2	12	-	2
Georgia.....	13	6.9	-	3	-	10
Kentucky.....	12	6.3	-	12	-	-
Louisiana.....	46	24.3	1	7	8	30
Mississippi.....	2	1.1	-	2	-	-
North Carolina.....	32	16.9	3	17	6	6
South Carolina.....	7	3.7	-	7	-	-
Tennessee.....	15	7.9	-	11	-	4
Virginia.....	35	18.5	2	27	1	5
Other.....	4	2.1	-	3	-	1

¹Only workers employed in social work at the time of this study are included in this table.

Number of Professional Organizations in Which Workers Held Membership

Thirty-two per cent of the workers reported active membership status with one professional organization. Slightly over 17 per cent held memberships in two and seven per cent in three organizations. There were six with membership in four organizations. A single individual held membership in five organizations. All workers with memberships in over three organizations were females.

Table 17. Number of Professional Organizations in Which Workers Held Membership, by Sex

Number	Total		Male	Female
	Number	Per cent		
Total.....	189	100.0	26	163
None.....	74	39.1	18	56
One.....	61	32.3	4	57
Two.....	33	17.5	2	31
Three.....	14	7.4	2	12
Four.....	6	3.2	-	6
Five.....	1	0.5	-	1

Types of Professional Organizations in Which Workers Held Membership

One hundred and fifteen workers reported a total of 197 memberships in various city, county, regional, and national social work or related associations, conferences, and clubs.

The largest number reported membership in the various State Conferences of Social Work. More than 44 per cent of the workers held memberships in state conferences - 82 females and six males. These data support the Southern Regional Council's recent findings on Negro membership in professional organizations as they relate to social work.

Fourteen per cent of the memberships were held in the American Association of Social Workers. For the 29 with membership in this organization, females constituted the majority - 27 females and two males. The American Association of Social Workers is one of the most important professional organizations for social workers. It is national in scope and the broad qualifications for membership are determined through the national body; however, local associations or chapters, to a large extent, determine or influence admissions in their communities. Some workers indicated that they had been members or were desirous of joining this organization, but were unable to accept local chapter policies that embraced racial restrictions.

Over 13 per cent of the membership were in local social work organizations of various types - religious, interracial, and fraternal organizations. City or county conferences claimed about 12 per cent of the memberships. Only two workers held memberships in the American Public Welfare Association. One listed membership in the National Probation and Parole Association, one in the Middle-Atlantic Conference of Social Work, and one in both the Mental Hygiene Association and the Child Welfare League of America.

Table 18. Types of Professional Organizations in Which Workers Held Membership, by Sex

Professional organizations	Total		Male	Female
	Number	Per cent		
Total.....	197	100.0	15	182
American Association of Social Workers.....	29	14.7	2	27
State Conference of Social Work.....	88	44.7	6	82
Social Work Clubs.....	27	13.7	1	26
City or County Conference.....	24	12.2	1	23
Regional Conference of Social Work.....	14	7.1	2	12
National Conference of Social Work.....	10	5.1	1	9
Other.....	5	2.5	2	3

The findings in this area revealed that some of these workers were cognizant of the values or benefits to be derived from affiliations with organizations related to their profession. It is believed that the number and types of membership held by them would compare favorably with workers in other professions throughout the country.

Reasons Workers Did Not Hold Membership in Professional Organizations

One hundred and ~~eighty~~-nine workers reported their membership status in professional organizations. Fifty-six per cent were active members of a professional organization. Why did the others refrain from joining their professional organization?

Of the 76 workers reporting on membership status who did not have any professional affiliations, 56 specified their reasons for not joining such organizations. Almost one-half of this number were unemployed or in non-social work activities and did not believe affiliation with professional bodies would be of any value to them. Seven workers had never applied for membership in any organization and five had been "just plain negligent." Two workers were employed in temporary capacities, therefore, they were unable to make a decision at the time membership drives were conducted. There was only one individual indicating a total absence of interest in professional organizations. This ~~ind~~individual had been employed in social work for a period exceeding seven years and had earned a two year certificate from an accredited school of social work.

The Southern Regional Council's survey cautioned that because the state organizations admitted Negroes to membership on wholly professional grounds, this did not necessarily apply to all local chapters. Some of the workers indicated that this was their reason for not seeking membership in local associations. "The local group did not cater to Negroes until a year or a little more ago. Meetings were held principally in the homes of white members or in public restaurants which did not serve Negroes," wrote a worker.

Another worker advised, "There are no opportunities at the present time for Negroes to join." Some of these workers gave as their reasons for not joining that they were not invited, asked, or encouraged to do so. Five listed one or a combination of these reasons for their non-membership status. Two workers believed that the cost of joining was too high in proportion to benefits derived. "The colored

group has no functional organization and the caste system keeps Negroes from becoming active in the larger organizations," stated a female worker as her reason for not joining professional social work organizations.

Among the more specific reasons that were given by these workers for not affiliating with professional organizations was the question of finances. Seven claimed this reason. There were 10 unable to qualify to join any professional organization that offered professional status to them.

Whatever reasons were responsible for almost one-third of the workers not holding membership in professional organizations, the subject should raise a question among members of the profession in all of these states. It is generally accepted by the majority of social workers that the inspiration, exchange of ideas, and values gained from conferences and professional meetings assist the individual in doing a better job. Therefore, it is desirable that the Negro workers be encouraged to join and participate in the proceedings.

Contributions Made by Workers to Social Work
and Related Fields

A person's contribution of scholarly and scientific articles, studies, papers and books is one measure of his interest, preparation, status, and development in a profession. To some extent, the individual's contributions to the profession determine his status. Invitations to present papers, participate in panel discussions, and speak at professional or related meetings give an insight to the evaluation placed on the individual's **ability**. This is often the situation in professions and social work is not an exception.

Numerous factors are conducive to stimulating or motivating an individual to prepare scholarly and scientific articles, books, studies, and papers in any given profession. To what extent Negroes have been given opportunities to make contributions to their own and related professions in the states of this study is not fully known. However, all evidence and findings indicate that they did make contributions in several areas.

Seventy-one per cent indicated that they had not made any type of contribution and four per cent did not answer this question. The majority of the workers reporting contributions stated that they had done so by presenting papers or making speeches. Five per cent were in each of these groups. Of the 24 reporting contributions in these categories, 20 were in social work - all of these were females. The number making or participating in studies slightly exceeded four per cent. Seven of these studies were concerned with social work. Five females and two males worked on studies.

Nine of the workers prepared articles. Only four of these articles were concerned with social work. Two were in health, one in education, and two in other fields. The nine giving other as **their areas** of contributions had prepared two religious articles, a paper on home **safety**, a discussion of race relations, and two speeches on race relations.

Approximately one-third of the workers made two or more contributions. It is highly probable that contributions by Negroes to social work and related fields will

increase as Negroes secure more education and experience. The opportunities that are available to make contributions are important and may profoundly affect the individual's productivity.

The majority of the Negro social workers presenting papers, making speeches, and participating in panel discussions did so with high school groups, college sociology classes, and all Negro groups or meetings. Very few opportunities were available to do so with interracial groups. Practically all of the articles and studies were concerned with Negroes or community conditions affecting them.

Part III

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS
OF THE
NEGRO SOCIAL WORKERS

State of Birth of Workers

The social workers employed in the public welfare programs of these eleven states were largely "home grown and developed products." Ninety-two per cent were born in the states included in this study. Louisiana with about 20 per cent and North Carolina with 19 per cent constituted over one-third of the workers. Add Virginia to this number and these three states produced 52 per cent of the total workers. Approximately three per cent were born in Alabama and Arkansas respectively.

The ratio of Negro social workers employed in public welfare showed very little relationship to the total Negro population of these states, according to the 1940 Census. Although Mississippi's Negro population accounted for over 50 per cent of its total population, only three per cent of the workers were born in this state and less than two per cent were employed there.

The eight per cent coming from other States were from Oklahoma, Maryland, Indiana, Vermont, Illinois, Texas, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts. One worker was born outside of the United States; a female who gave her place of birth as the Panama Canal Zone.

Table 20. State of Birth of Workers, by Sex

State of birth	Total		Male	Female
	Number	Per cent		
Total.....	206	100.0	26	180
Alabama.....	6	2.9	1	5
Arkansas.....	6	2.9	-	6
Florida.....	9	4.4	1	8
Georgia.....	20	9.7	-	20
Kentucky.....	8	3.9	-	8
Louisiana.....	42	20.4	8	34
Mississippi.....	7	3.4	-	7
North Carolina.....	40	19.4	9	31
South Carolina.....	14	6.8	-	14
Tennessee.....	10	4.9	1	9
Virginia.....	27	13.1	4	23
Other.....	17	8.2	2	15

Place of Birth of Workers

Traditionally the Negro has been a rural dweller, but during the past quarter-century he has migrated to the city in increasingly large numbers. Not only has the Negro lived in rural areas, but he has engaged predominantly in agricultural pursuits to earn his living.

The Negro social workers of this study, however, do not follow the pattern of the general Negro population in respect to place of birth. Over eighty-two per cent of the workers in this study were born in urban areas. Five per cent were born on farms and more than 12 per cent in non-farm areas.

Table 21. Place of Birth of Workers,¹ by Sex

Place of birth	Sex		Male	Female
	Number	Per cent		
Total.....	206	100.0	26	180
Urban area.....	170	82.5	23	147
<u>Rural area:</u>				
Farm.....	10	4.9	-	10
Non-farm.....	26	12.6	3	23

¹One worker was born in the Panama Canal Zone.

The influence of place of birth on the subsequent selection of employment in vocational pursuits was not ascertainable from these data. It is safe to assume that the workers born and reared in urban areas had more stimulation toward social work as a profession than those from rural sections.

Table 22. Current Residence of Workers, by Sex

Current Residence	Total		Male	Female
	Number	Per cent		
Total.....	206	100.0	26	180
State of birth.....	146	70.9	19	127
Other.....	60	29.1	7	53

The rate of mobility among these workers was relatively small. The data submitted by the workers do not substantiate some of the claims that social work is a transient profession.

The states of birth provided satisfactory employment opportunities to the workers if current residence is used as a barometer. One hundred and forty-six workers were living in their state of birth - 127 females and 19 males - at the time of this study. This was more than 70 per cent of the number reporting. Of the 60 reporting residence in a state other than that of birth, 53 were females and seven were males.

Ages of Workers

Over one-half of the workers were under 35 years old during the period these data were collected - August 1, 1949 to August 1, 1950. The average (median) age of all of the workers was 34.3 years

Table 23. Ages of Social Workers August 1, 1949 to August 1, 1950,
by Sex*

Ages in years	Total		Male	Female
	Number	Per cent		
Total.....	206	100.0	26	180
20 - 24.....	21	10.2	1	20
25 - 29.....	42	20.4	6	36
30 - 34.....	46	22.8	3	43
35 - 39.....	39	18.0	10	29
40 - 44.....	29	14.1	4	25
45 - 49.....	12	5.8	1	11
50 - 54.....	9	4.3	1	8
55 - 59.....	6	3.4	-	6
60 and over.....	2	1.0	-	2

*The workers returned their questionnaires during this period.

Marital Status and Age of Workers

It was possible to secure a 100 per cent report on the marital status of this group. Over 66 per cent were married. A total of 137 were in this category - 114 females and 23 males. About 22 per cent were single, while approximately 11 per cent were separated, divorced, widowed, or re-married.

Table 24. Marital Status of Workers, by Sex*

Marital status	Total		Male	Female
	Number	Per cent		
Total.....	206	100.0	26	180
Married.....	137	66.5	23	114
Single.....	46	22.3	3	43
Separated.....	7	3.4	-	7
Widowed.....	7	3.4	-	7
Divorced.....	8	3.9	-	8
Re-married.....	1	0.5	-	1

* This was the marital status at the time workers submitted information on this item - August 1949 to August 1950

The most casual reader will observe the disproportionate number of females in relation to males in this study. There were approximately seven females to each male in the return of questionnaires. This preponderance of females over males is the general pattern for social workers in this region and does not have any racial significance.

The information that was secured on the age and marital status does not indicate the reasons many of these individuals were single, married, separated, or divorced. However, a number of the young single women were recent graduates of colleges and professional schools and had not had time or opportunity to marry. About 10 per cent of these workers were between the ages of 20-24.

Table 25. Age and Marital Status of Workers

Age in years	Total		Single		Married		Separated		Widowed		Divorced		Re-married	
	Number	Per cent												
			M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Total..	206	100.0	3	43	23	114	-	7	-	7	-	8	-	1
0 - 24.....	21	10.2	1	13	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5 - 29.....	42	20.4	1	16	5	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
0 - 34.....	46	22.3	-	5	3	33	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	1
5 - 39.....	39	18.9	-	1	10	26	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
0 - 44.....	29	14.1	1	4	3	15	-	3	-	1	-	2	-	-
5 - 49.....	12	5.8	-	2	1	5	-	-	-	3	-	1	-	-
0 - 54.....	9	4.4	-	-	1	5	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-
5 - 59.....	6	2.9	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
0 and over.....	2	1.0	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Number of Children of Married, Divorced,
Separated and Widowed Workers

Studies have been made to ascertain the number of children in various social, economic, and professional groups. The findings of these studies revealed that individuals in the higher levels of our socio-economic order have fewer children than those in the lower. This has been the situation with professional and white collar workers. The general pattern or trend in this area shows that the higher up the socio-economic ladder individuals go and the more "professionalized" they become, the smaller their families tend to be. This trend does not appear to have any racial aspects, but is influenced by our economic system and cultural patterns.

Social workers in their occupations are largely concerned with problems of individuals and families. The families with large numbers of children are more frequently found in economic difficulties. Social workers are aware of some of the causes of dependency and delinquency that accompany large families in our highly industrialized and competitive society.

With some knowledge and facts relative to the problems of family life, have social workers followed the pattern of members of other professions and kept their families small? What is the approximate size of the average social worker's family? Seventy-three of the workers reported that they did not have children. Of this number, 62 were married, one was separated, four were widowed, and six were divorced. Slightly over 23 per cent of the workers had one child. Of the 38 in this group, 33 were married, two separated, two divorced, and one was re-married. Twenty-one per cent reported families of two children. Nine per cent had more than two children in the family group. In this category, five per cent had three, and three per cent had four. The largest number of children was reported by two females - five and six children each - one was married and the other widowed.

Over 45 per cent reported they did not have children. It was evident that these social workers had relatively small families as the individuals in other professions and similar social or economic groups.

Table 26. Number of Children of Married, Divorced, Separated,
and Widowed Workers, by Sex

Number of Children	Total		Married		Separated		Widowed		Divorced		Re-married	
	Number	Per cent	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Total.....	160	100.0	23	114	-	7	-	7	-	8	-	1
ne.....	73	45.6	8	54	-	1	-	4	-	6	-	-
e.....	38	23.8	8	25	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	1
o.....	34	21.3	3	27	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	-
ree.....	8	5.0	2	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ur.....	5	3.1	2	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
ve.....	1	0.6	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
x.....	1	0.6	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-

Ages of Children of Married, Divorced, Separated, Widowed,
and Re-married Workers

Usually the ages of their children influence the employment status of mothers in our society. Often mothers are forced to remain at home until their children are old enough to take care of themselves. However, the ages and number of children also force mothers to enter the labor force, in order to supplement the earnings of the fathers.

One hundred and sixty children were reported by the married, separated, widowed, divorced, and re-married workers. Of these, the largest number exceeded 16 years of age. Over 22 per cent of all the children were in this group. Approximately 53 per cent of the children were less than six years of age. With such a large number of children in this age group, in all probability, some of the females were forced to remain at home. It may be safe to assume that the mothers of the older children, especially the teen agers, did not encounter as many difficulties in their attempt to work. However, in the type of social order in which the workers lived, and in the positions they occupied in their respective communities, many of the female workers were forced to enter or remain in the labor force to maintain the standard of living expected of them as leaders or professional workers.

Ages	Total		Married		Divorced		Separated		Widowed		Re-married	
	Number	Per cent	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Total.....	160	100.0	28	105	-	2	-	12	-	12	-	1
Less than 1 year.....	11	6.9	5	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1 - 2 years.....	18	11.2	4	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3 - 4 years.....	21	13.1	4	14	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-
5 - 6 years.....	18	11.2	2	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7 - 8 years.....	17	10.6	3	13	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
9 - 10 years.....	13	8.1	2	9	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
11 - 12 years.....	9	5.6	3	4	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
13 - 14 years.....	6	3.9	1	2	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
15 - 16 years.....	12	6.9	2	9	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Over 16 years.....	35	22.5	2	18	-	1	-	2	-	12	-	-

Table 28. Types of Employment of Male Workers' Wives

Types of employment	Number
Total.....	23
Housewife.....	8
Teacher.....	8
Social worker.....	4
Librarian.....	1
Nurse.....	1
Seamstress.....	1

Types of Employment of Male Workers' Wives

About two-thirds of the wives of the male workers were employed out of the home. Of the 15 working out of the home, eight were engaged in the teaching profession while four were employed as social workers. The others were employed as seamstress, nurse, and librarian. Although there were eight not working out of the home, it is safe to assume that they were extremely busy. Seven of the housewives were mothers of school or pre-school children. Family responsibilities may have been the reasons that these wives remained at home.

Employment of Female Workers' Husbands

Over 86 per cent of the female workers married, separated, widowed, divorced, and re-married reported the vocations of their husbands. Twenty per cent of the husbands' employment was under the classification of other. Other included a pharmacist, tenant farmer, carpenter, bricklayer, chef cook, lawyer, two ministers, two tailors, two chauffeurs, a truck driver, two police officers, a boiler room attendant, an apprentice plumber, a plasterer or cement finisher, a seaman, a meat packer, an office clerk, a waiter, a material inspector, a circulation manager of a weekly newspaper, a cartographic draftsman, a clothes presser, and a freight handler. One was unemployed.

Sixteen per cent of the husbands were employed in the postal service. Nineteen of the 22 included in this group were letter carriers or railway clerks, and the others were in the janitorial or custodial branches of the service.

Thirteen per cent of the husbands were engaged in some type of business. These business affiliations or activities ranged from self-employment to managerial positions. Of the 18 in this category, about one-third were connected with life insurance companies. One-half of those in business were self-employed. The types of business in which they were engaged included owner of a sea-food and poultry market; operator of a pool room; tavern and liquor store proprietor; service station operator; upholstery shop owner; and cafe operator.

During the past two decades, the ministry and teaching were the professional areas attracting large numbers of Negroes. The husbands of the workers did not follow this pattern to any great degree. Twelve per cent were engaged in the teaching profession and slightly over one per cent in the ministry.

Over six per cent were students enrolled in various types of schools. Another six per cent were social workers, doctors and dentists. Three per cent were in the army or navy. Thirteen per cent did not submit information relative to the employment status or type of vocational pursuits.

Table 29. Types of Employment of Female Workers' Husbands,
by Marital Status

	Total		Married	Separated	Widowed	Divorced	Re-married
	Number	Per cent					
Total.....	137	100.0	114	7	7	8	1
Postal employee...	22	16.1	22	-	-	-	-
Business.....	18	13.1	16	1	1	-	-
Teacher.....	17	12.4	17	-	-	-	-
Student.....	9	6.6	9	-	-	-	-
Mortician.....	5	3.7	3	-	-	1	1
U.S. Armed Forces.	5	3.7	5	-	-	-	-
Laborer.....	4	2.9	4	-	-	-	-
Social worker.....	4	2.9	4	-	-	-	-
Doctor or dentist.	4	2.9	2	1	-	1	-
Mechanic.....	3	2.2	3	-	-	-	-
Not reported.....	18	13.1	3	4	6	5	-
Other.....	28	20.4	26	1	-	1	-

Part IV
TRENDS AND PROBLEMS
IN
EMPLOYMENT OF NEGRO SOCIAL WORKERS

Trends and Existing Conditions Influencing the Employment of Negro Social Workers

Since 1935, attention has been focused on the public welfare program, both in the areas of clients or recipients, and personnel. From all indications, the administrators responsible for the selection of personnel and for carrying out the policies of the public welfare program have been in the most strategic position to interpret trends and existing conditions influencing the employment of Negroes in this field. The information submitted by the administrators concerning this aspect of the study reflected different shades of opinions. This was to be expected because of the differences in backgrounds and personalities of the administrators and their experiences with workers.

The opinions of administrators varied from state to state and within the counties or cities of these states. In one community, Negro workers had been accepted over a period of years and the major problem was to secure qualified workers for the available positions. "Acceptance by their own race, i.e. development of a professional attitude by the social worker, rather than a condemning one toward persons with very low standards of living among their race," was the key according to an administrator. In another nearby community, there was an entirely different point of view. "I believe," stated this administrator, "that communities are becoming aware that Negro workers are able to improve the services to members of their own race."

The following examples of the value of Negro professional social workers to an agency were given by an administrator: "Negro social workers are well accepted by our entire staff for their ability and performance of the job. A vacancy now exists as supervisor of the Child Welfare Department. Our case workers were called for a conference and told that they would take turns serving as 'leader' for a month each until such time as a supervisor was appointed. The group of white case workers immediately suggested the appointment of a Negro worker as the first 'leader' because she has the best training and background of experience. She is now supervising both

white and Negro child welfare workers on a temporary basis and doing an exceptional job. Negro social workers are employed in relation to the percentage of Negro case load in the agency."

Some of the administrators who had been able to use Negro workers successfully were not aware of the many difficulties encountered in other communities when the employment of Negroes in public welfare departments was proposed. "I believe that most departments want and employ Negro case workers where the case load is large enough to warrant it," was the opinion of a supervisor. Many social workers and administrators wanted more Negro workers. However, a large number of communities were in regions where Negroes constitute a large number of the financial assistance and service cases and it was impossible to add a member of their group to the staff to work with these cases.

"The members of the Negro Civic Club came to the office and requested a worker. I consented and discussed the matter with the county commissioners, who approved it. As a result, a Negro worker was employed and has done an excellent job. I believe that representative Negro groups could do much to increase the employment of Negro social workers," wrote a superintendent of public welfare.

The need of a study on this aspect of the public welfare program was expressed by administrators in North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Virginia. A typical reflection of this thinking was stated as follows, "I approve of this study and am pleased to state that the value of all Negro workers in this county is appreciated."

"As superintendent of public welfare," one administrator advised, "I know that we should have a Negro worker on our staff; however, I also know that in view of community attitudes regarding the public welfare program and in view of the racial relationships, that it would be detrimental to the program and most hard for a worker if one were employed. In looking into the future, we think that unless there is a continued mounting friction between the races that within the next few years there are possibilities of employing a Negro worker."

Another administrator offered some excellent suggestions that should be of value to the field of social work and to all social workers. "The recruitment of students from the various colleges to schools of social work to qualify for the positions as openings are made should be carried on continuously," she believed. Two characteristics which she thought were needed by Negro social workers were more dependability and better assumption of responsibility. Neither of these characteristics is peculiarly racial and both are desirable traits for all professional social workers, if they are to perform efficiently and effectively.

In a county where one Negro social worker has been employed, the administrator expressed her belief as follows: "This study might result in more Negroes preparing to do social work in which event I believe they should be carefully placed so that no rejection of them would ever occur to retard a worker that might prove good for Negroes of the right background and attitudes."

Another administrator's thinking was different from some of the others. "The employing of more Negro workers," she believes, "will do more than anything else to prove to the community the value of services rendered by these workers."

One county director has not been confronted by any problems in employing professional Negro social workers because they are accepted by the community. However, it has not been possible to employ Negro clerical workers.

Two county directors in the same state had diverse opinions on Negro workers. One believed that "on the whole the Negro worker does not seem as cooperative and ambitious in reading, in speaking, and interpreting her work as white workers." The other indicated a recognition and awareness of some of the problems confronting the workers and of what could be done to help. "Most of the difficulties which arise in connection with Negro workers would be overcome by the employment of trained Negro workers."

Many administrators expressed opinions that Negroes should be responsible for the total adjusting process. They doubted that training would solve all problems of

adjustment; however, they recognized that white workers need to understand the point of view of Negro professional workers and clients.

Three county superintendents in one of the states included in the study threw light on this area of the study. Two were high in their praise for Negro workers and believed that they should be increased in their communities. Both had urban centers as their county seats. Another superintendent, this one located in a predominantly rural area with the largest incorporated municipality having a total population of less than 5,000, gave insight to the problems that confronted a Negro worker. "The community attitude toward the workers in this agency has been one of pride, in that they were one of the first counties to have a Negro professional worker. However, they did not recognize her at all as a professional worker."

In two large urban communities where Negro workers were employed, the problems enumerated by the superintendents were not as great. These superintendents expressed belief that there is an increasing awareness of the need of Negro workers and made positive suggestions to this effect. "The excellent work of Negroes in public welfare positions," wrote one, "should be better known to those agencies not now employing them. I believe there is a definite increase in local opinion as to their employment and any opinions of local administrators to the contrary are probably much exaggerated. If any occasion arises, I shall be glad to be used as a reference as to the successful use of Negro workers in our agency."

In the other county, where a Negro social worker has only been employed since 1947, the superintendent held this point of view: "We have found the employment of a Negro worker very satisfactory. We feel that it has increased the interest on the part of the Negroes in the public welfare program. Also we feel that the service rendered by the Negro case worker is excellent and the relationship existing between the case worker and her clients is on a sound basis. We hope, when appropriations are more adequate, to add a Negro child welfare case worker to our staff."

Very few of the administrators referred to the number of Negro workers in relationship to the number of clients and other members of the staff, but one supervisor contributed information on a unique practice in her county. "We are pleased to report that there are more Negro case workers in our department according to case load of Negro clients than white. Please note seven Negro workers with a case load of 2,988 colored clients compared with eight white workers with a case load of 4,585 white clients. For 13 years, the staff has been composed of both white and colored workers. There exists a wonderful relationship. There has been no friction."

The number of administrators submitting information that revealed positive trends in employment of Negro social workers in their communities was encouraging. From all indications, there has been and continues to be an interest in the increased use of Negro social workers in a large number of the public welfare departments.

Trends in The Employment of Negroes in Public Welfare Where They Have Been and Are Currently Employed

Employment opportunities for Negroes in the social welfare field have increased since 1935. The establishment of the Federal Social Security program has influenced this trend. The social work profession for a number of years has provided one of the fields of employment for the Negro college graduate. In some regions of the country, a large and influential section of the leadership in social welfare has been connected with private social work programs and agencies. In the South, the opportunities for Negroes to participate in private social work agencies and programs have not been as numerous as in other regions. Since 1935, there has been a consistent increase in the number of Negroes employed in the public welfare program of this region.

The data on the employment trends of Negroes in public welfare are significant. Of the 63 administrative units returning questionnaires, only 18 indicated that the possibilities of employing Negroes had been discussed. Thirty-three had not discussed this and 11 did not report on this item.

For the group discussing this situation, the reactions varied. About one-half of the group approved the use of Negroes. A sample of a cross-section of the group reporting on this item revealed that a large number of the communities were receptive to increasing the professional Negro staff or replacing ex-workers.

An administrator of a county department of public welfare stated: "I have discussed the matter recently with the administrators of the Red Cross and Travelers Aid Program. At present, however, it is not contemplated that either of these agencies will employ Negro social workers in the immediate future. The Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. have Negro branches which employ Negro workers. The local Juvenile Court has a Negro probation officer and the County Board of Education employs a Negro attendance officer."

In another community where a Negro had been employed prior to the study, the administrator believed that the community fully accepts professional Negro workers. Many are used in nursing and school attendance fields, but there seems to be none in

the community trained for social work. Two private agencies have Negro social workers who have no social work education, but have acquired in-service training. One Negro medical school worker was employed at a health clinic for her group. After she resigned, there was no attempt to secure a trained replacement for her.

Negroes have been employed in only one county department of public welfare in Arkansas. A Negro was invited to attend board meetings to represent the group. The administrator in this county stated, "about one year ago, the county board believed that the number of Negro workers was adequate. However, the same attitude was expressed once previously, but when a trained worker was available, the group asked for her assignment." There have been three workers employed in this department for the past few years and a stenographer.

Negro social workers have been employed in five communities in Florida. According to the information supplied by the State Director of Personnel, who is responsible for approving all personnel, professional Negro personnel has been accepted in all of these communities excepting one. There have been discussions relative to the increasing of the total number in three of these areas.

Georgia has one of the largest Negro populations in the United States. The largest number of Negro workers has been employed in this state. However, it was not possible to secure data from two of the five counties where they had been employed. According to the information that was available, about thirty-five or more Negro workers were employed in the two departments not supplying data for the period of this study. All three of the county directors, where Negroes had been employed, reported satisfactory performance of Negro workers. The following statement reflects some of their opinions: "The employment of Negroes as social workers meets with the approval of this community."

In another community, the prediction was advanced that, "we expect to continue the practice of employing Negro social workers. It is felt that the Negro worker is more effective with his own race than the white worker."

There were numerous other opinions expressed by administrators and supervisors in the departments where Negroes had been and are currently employed in North Carolina. The majority of them were encouraging for the future employment of Negroes.

"They are good in the social work field as they have so much interest in the welfare of their people," was the conclusion reached by a case work supervisor in a large county department of public welfare.

A case work supervisor in a branch office lists the reasons Negro social workers should be used and the number increased whenever possible:

- "1. They are needed by their people;
- "2. They need to be given employment in the profession;
- "3. They understand their people, therefore, are able to do a better job."

The majority of the communities where Negroes had been employed indicated a favorable reaction. Several of the predominantly rural and thickly populated counties cited problems in this area. A county superintendent expressed the need for a Negro social worker; however, she was concerned about the welfare of the worker. The mores would make it difficult for the person to hold professional standing in the community.

From the communities where Negroes have been employed as professional social workers in the public welfare program, the predominant opinions, whenever they were discussed, were that the group made good workers and their number should be increased. It was generally accepted, where Negroes had been employed, that they had a better understanding of the problems of their group and were able to do more with them.

The use of citizen boards in the administration of public welfare has been part of the program for a number of years. If the question of increasing the number of Negro workers were to be given serious consideration, the thinking and attitudes of the local boards of public welfare would be important because of the influence exerted upon the program. In practically all of the states of this study, the local board has the authority and responsibility for selecting the administrator who recommends or selects other personnel submitted through the merit system.

The question was raised with the administrators whether the increasing or replacing of Negro social workers had been discussed with the board. There were forty-three replies to this question. Twenty-five had not discussed this matter with their boards, while the remaining eighteen had done so. The reactions of the boards varied. The majority of those discussing this matter were in favor of increasing the number of Negro workers. The county director in one state stated: "Yes, there has been some discussion of this matter. The board has invited a representative from the Negro community to 'sit in' on board meetings. During the year (1949) the representative did not attend meetings regularly. She is a teacher in the public schools. When an alternate was requested, she wished to continue trying to serve."

The State Director of Personnel through districts and local boards had been responsible for discussion and consideration of Negro personnel in Tennessee. Considerable attention was given to the increasing of Negro workers in areas where they were needed. As a result of these discussions, the employment of several Negro workers was approved in this state when additional funds became available for administrative purposes.

The three county directors reporting on this question from Georgia stated that their boards and communities approved the employment of Negro professional social workers.

"The board is of the opinion that Negro and white public welfare workers should be employed in relation to the Negro and white case load of the agency. This has not always been possible, due to the difficulty in securing qualified Negro workers," advised one administrator.

In one of the counties of this same state where its second largest city is located, the director had this to report: "Yes, the matter has been discussed with the board. The Negro case load has increased to such an extent that it is recognized that an additional worker is needed. As soon as a suitable person can be found, she will be employed."

In another county of this state, the director revealed, "The board was unanimous in their thinking that Negroes are doing an acceptable job and that the number should be increased."

In Louisiana, Negroes had been employed in two parishes. The administrator in one parish believed that the board did not have any reactions to the employment of Negroes in the public welfare program. All of the Negroes employed in this state were located in this parish excepting one. A single worker was employed in another parish of this state. This worker had resigned prior to this study. The local board believed that the community was not ready at this time to replace the Negro worker who had been previously employed.

North Carolina has employed Negroes in various public agencies and departments. The replies of superintendents of public welfare relative to the increasing of Negro social workers on their staffs revealed a variation of opinions.

In another county, the superintendent discussed the possibilities of increasing the number of Negro workers with the members of the welfare board. This discussion resulted in the addition of a child welfare worker.

Two of the counties in this state reflected problems in this area. A predominant rural county with Negroes constituting over 65 per cent of the total population had used four Negro workers at various times. The last Negro worker had resigned to accept a better position. The board did not think the community was ready to accept a replacement at this time.

In another rural community where Negroes constitute approximately 50 per cent of the population, the superintendent believed that the matter had been discussed; however, she thought it inadvisable to ask any trained specialized worker to take the position previously filled by a Negro worker because of community and staff attitudes.

In a county where Negroes were employed for a short period of time, the superintendent discussed the matter with the board and was advised that "competent Negro workers can do a better job with Negro clients than white workers."

The director of a county department of public welfare in Virginia had discussed this matter with the board. An agreement had been reached that the single Negro worker was all that they could employ at present because of limited office space.

"Because of the success of the employment of the Negro social workers on this staff, the board would be pleased to employ others. The county has approximately 50 per cent Negro population and Negro social workers have been of value," stated another county administrator.

A city superintendent's board was favorable to an increase in Negro workers if the personnel could be found.

According to the information supplied by administrators, the future possibilities of increasing the number or replacing those Negro workers who have resigned were not too encouraging. The reasons that were given for the administrators' replies revealed that there was a need for more interpretation to board members and the general communities relative to the value of Negro social workers for Negro caseloads on the staffs of public welfare departments.

Experiences of Administrators, Directors, and Supervisors
With Negro Social Workers Who Were Unsatisfactory

Traditionally, Negroes have been employed to teach their children in the public school system and preach in their churches in the South. During the past quarter century, the numbers of doctors, lawyers, dentists, and nurses has increased. From nothing to much may be the terminology applied to the increase in employment of Negroes in the Agricultural Extension Service as farm and home demonstration agents. Social work, especially public welfare, has developed largely during the times of economic depression and adversity when the American people have extended programs of social welfare as part of good and necessary government.

In the period following the 1929 depression, the emergency relief era of the early 30's, Negroes were used in the social welfare field at practically all levels. However, with the enactment of Social Security legislation in 1935, the organization and administration of the public welfare program was substantially changed to include more active participation by state and local governments. The changes in financing the program resulted in a reduction of personnel.

Negroes were among the first to feel the impact of these changes in the area of employment. Negroes have not been used in proportion to the number of their group receiving financial assistance and service from the public welfare program in the states of this study. When they have been used, it has been as case workers or practitioners in county departments as there have not been sufficient numbers of Negro workers employed to open up opportunities in supervisory or administrative areas. A few have reached supervisory positions, others have been used as consultants at the State level.

In an attempt to determine whether their services were satisfactory or unsatisfactory, many aspects of the total situation should be given serious consideration. It is almost an impossibility to secure objective data in this area.

It is conservative to state that the adjustment of Negro social workers to the administrators or supervisors, other members of the staff, clients and Negro leaders of the community influence their tenure and the addition of other Negro workers.

According to the information submitted by the sixty-three administrators, directors, superintendents, and supervisors, there were only seven Negro social workers who were unsatisfactory. Five did not answer this question. The remainder of the group indicated the Negro workers had been satisfactory. Several administrators or supervisors advised that the Negro social workers had been very satisfactory. They answered this question with enthusiasm and much praise of their workers.

The reasons that the Negro social workers were satisfactory shed some light on their performances in specific areas. In the performance of duties, over two-thirds of the administrators, submitting information on this item, believed that Negro social workers were satisfactory. Two did not submit data on this item because they had not been on the job long enough to evaluate the workers. The ability of the workers to work with other members of the staff was answered in the affirmative by fifty-one of the administrators. Fifty of the workers enjoyed excellent relations with their clients and were able to work successfully with them. Forty-nine workers were able to develop and effect good community relationships and in only seven instances were there some doubts. The workers were able to make contributions that were considered satisfactory and beneficial to the agency. These were in various agency and community welfare meetings and in the promotion of race relations.

If a Negro worker who is brought into a program as a pioneer is unable to create a satisfactory working relationship with the administrator, supervisor, client, community in general, and Negro leadership, the possibility of continuing his or her employment or of adding more Negro workers will usually diminish. Often these conditions put the Negro worker on the proverbial 'spot'. When the number of Negro workers employed in this region during the period of this study is considered, the total number who proved unsatisfactory, according to the information supplied by their superior officers, was relatively small. Three workers were unable to perform their duties in

a satisfactory method and to maintain the standards of the agency. Usually the worker who was unable to develop a satisfactory relationship with clients, also had difficulty in working with other staff members and creating good working relations with the general community.

A county director in one state reported that two untrained Negro social workers had not proved satisfactory. This statement was made on the basis of their performance of duties. These workers resented supervision and were sensitive. In another county the general thinking of the staff and community about the Negro worker was "she is highly respected and of real value to the agency, but she is too race-conscious."

In a predominantly rural county, the superintendent reported having had one unsatisfactory worker. She gave two reasons for the worker not proving satisfactory - inability or refusal to learn to drive a car, and rejection by clients.

Another county superintendent reported two workers who were unable successfully to pass the merit examinations. A general statement was made about Negro workers by this administrator: "They (Negro workers) were not consistent and were unable to carry heavy responsibility."

Three counties in another state had some experiences in which they considered Negro social workers not satisfactory. In one county, the complaints were the inability of the worker to perform her duties and the refusal to take supervision. Along with these complaints, she was not reliable and did not have the ability to do the job.

A superintendent had this to say of the experiences of her agency with Negro social workers. "We have had a total of four Negro social workers, two were highly satisfactory and two were not. The attitude of one of the workers was that of punishment. The other worked nicely with clients, but was not liked by the leaders of her own race. She took no interest in community activities and was not friendly with community leaders."

The Negro social workers employed in two of the three positions in another state proved satisfactory. In one, the worker was not satisfactory, according to her superior officer because, "relations with clients were not good. Most of her clients preferred white case workers. On many occasions, clients would come into the office requesting

that they be reassigned to white workers. They would also ask verification on policies that had been explained to them by the Negro worker. They appeared to lack confidence in a worker of their own race, in spite of the white workers' efforts to instill this confidence in them."

A State director of a public welfare program gave the reason for one Negro social worker not being satisfactory: "Inability to work with other members of the staff and general community relations." The director reflected objective thinking when he advised that "this is not due to racial differences, but to personality of worker. The other workers have been satisfactory in all areas."

A county director who had employed several Negro workers had difficulty with only one. This worker's difficulties were in the areas of community relations and inability to work harmoniously with other members of the staff. Her work history revealed this same pattern in other agencies. This administrator also gave additional information: "My observation of Negro workers is that one of their outstanding weaknesses is the lack of objectivity. They have a greater tendency to over-identify with clients than do white workers. It seems difficult for them to translate the abstract to the concrete. Their case recording is more highly colored by their emotions and responses than white workers."

In the only county in Arkansas where Negro workers had been employed, the administrator had only one who was not satisfactory. According to the county director, "She was unable to use the opportunity. The freedom of the job was abused. Her personality was punitive."

As to be expected, some Negro workers did not prove satisfactory in all areas of the job. This situation usually existed where a large number of individuals were employed. The reasons cited by the superintendents, administrators, and supervisors for unsatisfactory service are problems which may be found among any group of social workers where some of the persons employed are not suited to that type of employment.

There has been considerable discussion concerning the attitudes of Negro clients toward Negro workers. Numerous theories have been advanced relative to the efficacy

of both white and colored workers in working with Negro clients. Gloria Bruce Witbeck, studying 34 cases selected from the closed-case files of five Negro social workers in 1945 in two districts of the Family Service Bureau of United Charities, Chicago, Illinois, discovered that most of the clients liked their Negro workers. Their opinion was that they had been kind and helpful to them. The clients fell into three groups regarding racial preferences. Most of the clients preferred having a Negro case worker. They felt that a member of their own race was more likely to be sympathetic toward their situation and have more interest in helping them. Eleven of the clients were indifferent to the race of the case worker. They felt that individual personality and not race was the important factor in the case work relationship. On the whole, this latter group was younger than the first group of clients, had lived longer in the North and had gone farther in school. There was only one client who said that he preferred having a white case worker. He based this preference on an experience which he had with a Negro case worker in a public assistance agency. He described the case work relationship with the Negro case worker at the United Charities as being a satisfactory one. He believed that she was an exception. He felt that usually white case workers are more considerate of their clients.

The findings of this study indicate that it is impossible to generalize about the attitude of Negro clients toward Negro case workers. Case workers of both races must not only have knowledge of certain universal experiences common to all people, but must also be aware of the pressures encountered by the Negro as a member of a minority group.

The majority of the Negro social workers who had been employed in the public welfare program of these states have been satisfactory. As in other groups, there have been some who were unable to make satisfactory adjustments to other workers, clients, and the general community. Their failures were based on personality difficulties. The small

⁷Witbeck, Gloria Bruce, The Attitudes of Negro Clients Toward Negro Case Workers, (Abstract of theses in Smith College Studies in Social Work, 1946, pp. 150-151.

number of Negro clients expressing a preference for white social workers over Negro workers indicates some progress in this area. It also refutes the claims of some individuals that Negro clients generally prefer white workers. Over three-fourths of the administrators indicated that Negro social workers were satisfactory, doing good work, and were of real value to the agency and its program.

Some Reasons Negroes Have Not Been Employed as Professional Workers in Selected Communities

An attempt was made to ascertain some of the reasons that Negroes were not employed in professional positions, in selected communities where they constitute a large per cent of the recipients of financial assistance, services of the welfare departments, and of the total population. One hundred and fifty-six questionnaires were sent to city, county, and state administrators requesting information relative to the reasons Negroes had not been employed in professional capacities with public welfare departments. A total of 284 answers were given in return by these administrators.

The reason given most often for not employing Negroes was the inadequacy of physical facilities (Table 30). This reason constituted 21 per cent of the total answers submitted. Community reactions, relations, and general attitudes that were not conducive to the employment of Negro social workers also ranked high, constituting 18 per cent of the total reasons. Slightly over 16 per cent of the reasons were listed under other which included whether the need of a colored worker had been discussed. The geographic distribution of clients in a community which made the employment of a Negro worker too expensive accounted for 13 per cent of the reasons.

Negroes not applying to the departments was also cited by several administrators as their reasons for not having employed them. Three administrators had never had Negroes referred to them by the merit systems of their states. The size of the staff and small case loads of Negro recipients were reported as reasons why it was not possible or feasible to use Negro social workers in several states.

The possibilities of employing Negro professional social workers, it would seem, have been considered by administrators in welfare departments in practically all of the states; however, the absence of qualified members of the group was to some extent responsible for their limited employment.

Table 30. Reasons Negro Professional Social Workers Have
Not Been Employed in the Public Welfare Program

Reasons	Number	Per cent
Total.....	284	100.0
Physical facilities, i.e., office space, location of department, were not conducive to the employment of a Negro social worker.....	60	21.1
Community reactions, relations, and general attitudes would not be conducive to the employment of a Negro social worker.....	51	18.0
Geographic distribution of clients would make the employment of a Negro social worker too expensive.....	38	13.4
Appropriations for administration would not permit the employment of a Negro social worker.....	23	8.1
Preference for white social workers indicated by Negro clients.....	23	8.1
No budgeted position that could have been filled by a Negro worker.....	20	7.0
A Negro social worker desired, but had not been available.....	16	5.7
Other.....	47	16.5
Not reported.....	6	2.1

Although administrators cited numerous reasons for not employing Negro social workers, it is important to consider whether the opportunity to do so presented itself. A frequent reason given by administrators was that they had not received an application from an eligible Negro social worker (Table 31). The need of a Negro social worker had not been called to the attention of the administrator in a large proportion of the counties. During the past decades, Negroes have become more articulate throughout the country regarding participation in practically all programs or activities that vitally affect them, but this does not seem to be the situation in the public welfare program of the South. The fact that Negro citizens of the community have not requested a worker accounted for 21 per cent of the reasons submitted by the administrators.

Table 31. Reasons There Have Not Been Opportunities to Employ Negro Social Workers

Reasons	Number	Per cent
Total.....	284	100.0
No application from an eligible Negro social worker has been received.....	80	28.2
The need of a Negro social worker has not been presented.....	55	21.1
The Negro citizens of the community have not requested a worker.....	61	21.5
The possibility of the employment of a Negro social worker has never been considered.....	42	17.1
Other.....	24	8.4
Not reported.....	2	2.1

Methods to Improve Employment Opportunities of Workers

The merit systems designate specific practices and procedures in the selection of personnel and require minimum qualifications. However, the request for personnel usually arise with the administrators. The local administrators occupy a strategic position in the selection of personnel for the local agencies. Because of their position, an attempt was made to secure the thinking or reactions of this group relative to some methods that may be used to improve employment opportunities for Negro social workers.

In Alabama, the director of a county department of public welfare stated that "the employment of Negro social workers is acceptable in this community. It is my feeling that if more trained social workers were available they would be employed in various programs in this community."

Another director in this state indicated that "my personal opinion is that employment for any professional Negro workers will be improved only as the Negro population itself has more acceptance of their own professionally trained Negroes. White professional people (doctors, lawyers, etc.) are often sought and used in preference to Negro professional people by their own group. In addition, because of the prevailing customs and mores, it seems that the best employment opportunities for a trained Negro worker are in the fields where separate branches of service are offered, such as colored clinics, schools, recreation centers, housing units, etc. Any business (store, agency, or a tax assessor's office) serving both white and colored people within the same facility usually finds it more expedient and economical to employ workers who can serve both groups."

A county director in Arkansas recommended more professionally trained, mature and practical workers. "This, along with more interpretation of advantages by boards and other workers, would improve employment opportunities for Negro social workers in this county and state."

A child welfare consultant, in a district composed of a number of counties, has this point of view. "The Negro case load in my district of 15 counties would not justify

additional personnel dealing with one race of people. The Negro social worker could be used more effectively in a public relations position to make known available child welfare services to the Negro people, thus increasing the service."

Another child welfare consultant revealed that "our white child welfare workers need to give fuller interpretation of our services to Negroes (where we have no Negro workers). Officials and leaders need to learn that the same problems found in the other races are found among Negro children - we do not talk enough about them. Leaders in the Negro community must be aroused regarding the limitation of facilities for Negro children. Negro leaders need to be more vocal about this and white social workers can interpret more in this area."

Still another administrator cited the role of Negro leaders in improving the employment opportunities for workers in a specific community: "The Negro worker was placed in this community because the Negroes asked for one. If they would do that in other communities, I think it would improve employment opportunities."

Two field supervisors reporting from districts where the majority of Negro workers were employed favored the advancement of Negroes to higher positions in the organization of the program of their state and in more civic activities as means of improving their employment opportunities. "Accepting the Negroes in more civic activities and employing social workers in all county offices of the state to service Negro cases, as they have a better understanding of the problems of their own race," was considered one of the best approaches by an administrator.

In a county where a Negro worker had been employed, the director who assumed the position after the Negro worker had left made this observation: "It appears from past experience that it would be better to have Negroes employed first by their own race in such positions as supervisors of play-ground projects, sponsored by churches or other organizations, in order for them to develop confidence in their own race. Most Negroes in this section have an innate distrust of other Negroes, especially those who have a superior position. Before they could be successful in a social work program,

their own people must accept them as being capable of leadership and this should be demonstrated so that there is a gradual growth of acceptance and not a feeling that an undesirable leader has been forced on underprivileged people."

It has been cited that in North Carolina more counties have employed Negroes than in any other state. These counties were located in all sections of the state and several were predominantly rural. The superintendents offered a variety of suggestions as to the methods to be used to improve the employment opportunities for Negroes in social work. A civic organization was responsible for the employing of a Negro worker in one county. This organization requested a Negro social worker in the department due to the large Negro population in the county. The request was approved by the superintendent and after discussing it with the County Commissioners, it was decided to try a Negro worker. This worker did such a good job and was so well received by the other staff members and the people in the community that the superintendent does not feel that he has a complete staff without a Negro worker.

"Improved basic education would improve employment opportunities for Negroes in public welfare," advocated another superintendent.

"More education of the public of the need for Negro workers among the Negro groups and more interpretation of the need for Negro workers with clients of their own race, along with a recognition of their professional worth," were the areas needing special attention in the community of a superintendent who appeared to be well informed about local attitudes.

The need of a program of interpretation to other agencies of the satisfactory results achieved by Negro social workers was the focus suggested by one superintendent. "If other agencies not using Negro workers could know more specifically how successful their use is, it would probably stimulate employment opportunities."

To improve employment opportunities for Negroes in the professional social work category in the public welfare program in South Carolina, a county director offered some concrete and practical suggestions: "An in-service program for those interested

in specializing in social work; a child welfare worker in-training program for Negroes as part of the state department of public welfare personnel training program; opportunities to meet together as a group of professional workers to discuss mutual problems; an educational process with special emphasis on respect for personal **irrespective of class and race.**"

"An increase in the use of local departments of public welfare by college departments of social science," was suggested by a Tennessee county director. She cited how a recognized college for Negroes used the agency as a laboratory for sociology students. "This college placed a senior student in this agency to serve an internship for one semester." The director believed this was a stimulating experience both to the student and agency. As a result of the experience, the student hopes to go into public welfare work.

The responsibility of improving the employment opportunities of Negroes in the public welfare program is placed on the group by one director. She believes that, "Better community leadership among the Negroes currently employed would help."

A large number of the administrators did not answer this question and not too many who did answer made suggestions or recommendations that would be of assistance in the formulating of a program to improve employment opportunities. Several excellent suggestions were made that should be given serious consideration; however, Negro social workers and leaders should become more active and articulate, in-service training programs by welfare departments should be developed, the agencies should assume more responsibility in recruitment and training programs, and there should be more interpretation of the program as it relates to Negroes. These were the most positive suggestions made.

Trends in Communities Where Negroes Have Never Been Employed

Administrators of public welfare programs, which had never employed Negroes, were asked to interpret the predominant opinions concerning this situation in their communities. The majority of these attitudes or opinions were not favorable or conducive to the employment of Negroes. One director cited the use of Negroes with the county board of education in a supervisory position and the employment of county farm and home demonstration agents. She did not believe that there would be unfavorable reactions if a Negro were employed in the welfare department.

"The general attitudes of the public are against the employment of a Negro," wrote another county director.

A welfare worker acting as county director believed: "Attitudes are rather favorable as far as the social workers in our office are concerned. If the colored workers can work successfully with their own race, other workers would be agreeable. It is doubtful that the community as a whole would accept it, also our colored clients seem happier with their white social workers."

From another county came this opinion: "We do not believe that there would be any unfavorable opinions as our Local Health Department has had for over a period of years a Negro Public Health Nurse (the first in the state)."

Another county director wrote: "Several years ago, I discussed the possibilities of employing a Negro child welfare worker. At this time, we did not have a white child welfare worker, so it was decided that we should have a white worker before we secured a Negro worker. However, in my opinion, I do not think we need a Negro child welfare worker as we are not having many juvenile delinquents."

"This matter has not reached the discussion stage with our board," advised another director in this state. "My opinion is that the board is not ready to employ Negroes should one become available. However, the board would fall in line with a state plan for this."

"The only discussion we have had concerning the use of Negro social workers with the board, members were unanimously opposed to the idea," was the interpretation of a superintendent in North Carolina. Three other county superintendents in North Carolina reporting on this matter revealed discussions that were favorable to the use of Negroes with modifications:

1. "There was a general recognition of the right of a minority group to have proportional employment. There was an attitude on the part of some interested individuals that it would be more appropriate for Negroes to be served by Negro workers."

2. "The matter has not been brought up outside an occasional welfare board meeting. There were not any objections from the welfare board members."

3. "I should think that there has not been enough discussion to warrant saying that opinion is either favorable or unfavorable. I believe, if our Negro citizens continue to talk to county commissioners about a Negro social worker, eventually a position will be set up."

Another county reported the only unfavorable reactions toward Negro workers were based on the small case load and the geographic distribution of Negro clients.

Negro leaders reflected an interest in several counties in the employment possibilities for members of their group. They had taken an active part in attempting to encourage the placement of Negro personnel with the welfare departments. A county superintendent explained: "Some Negro leaders have felt that a Negro worker could secure more definite information from Negro clients than white workers. Other Negro leaders feel that Negroes prefer a white worker. The Board of County Commissioners has expressed approval of employment of Negro worker if physical conditions were available and at such time that increases would be made in staff to permit such employment."

Two interested Negroes wrote to a board requesting that Negro social workers be employed in a specific county. The board went into their request very thoroughly and considered it at two different meetings. From the discussions, it appeared that the board was willing to employ qualified Negro workers. But after thorough consideration,

it was decided that the staff and community were not yet ready to accept Negroes in this capacity. The problem of space and stenographic time also entered into this decision.

The personnel director of the Florida State Welfare Board has developed a system of calling to the attention of the District Directors the availability of Negro social workers so that they may be considered for employment in the counties. Whenever a Negro social worker makes application for employment through the State Personnel Office or successfully passes the merit examination, the District Directors are notified. As a result of this procedure, the employment of Negro social workers has been discussed in all twelve of the Florida administrative districts and the counties in these districts where large Negro populations are located. According to the information submitted by the administrators, supervisors and others, Florida's method is conducive to the focusing of more attention on the discussion of the employment possibilities of Negro social workers than is found in the other states of this study.

Except in a few counties and in the large urban centers, there were not enough Negroes in the Kentucky case loads to warrant Negro workers in this state. A field worker who had supervision of the training of the local field staff with three county districts, but had no responsibility other than making recommendations on an efficiency or performance basis for continued and advanced employment, threw light on this subject. She advised that the predominant opinions concerning the employment of Negroes were "favorable, but limited funds require heavy case loads and the geographic distribution of our Negro clients would prohibit the expense of employing a Negro social worker. To our knowledge, no request has ever been made by the Negro clients for a Negro worker."

Five Mississippi county directors gave varied interpretations of the opinions in their communities. The employment of Negro social workers in the public welfare program had been discussed in one of these counties and the reaction was unfavorable. The community's reactions and attitudes, along with the Negro's supposed distrust of members of his own race, were given as the reasons that a Negro worker could not be

considered for employment. Three of the directors had not discussed this subject with anyone in the community. It had been discussed with the members of the staff and they indicated that a Negro worker would be acceptable. One of the workers based her belief on the reception accorded to a Negro trainee connected with the local health department.

"Negroes are very suspicious of each other where money is concerned. We do not believe our Negroes would willingly accept a Negro social worker or give one the necessary information regarding their income," was the statement made by a director. This, and similar statements indicate some of the stereotype thinking that continues to prevail in the South in some quarters relative to the Negro's relationships with other members of his group.

As in the other states where more than one administrator submitted data on this subject, there were variations of opinions in Louisiana.

"We have sufficient staff and applicants to handle the job and do not see where anything could be gained by employing a Negro."

"Negro clients have expressed their preference for white social workers, and there are hostile community reactions and attitudes toward the employment of Negro workers in this department, as well as inadequate physical facilities."

Another individual in Louisiana stated, "The present opinion is neither favorable or unfavorable, but would be determined by the advantages or disadvantages to the client, agency, and community through the employment of Negro social workers." This is one of the few directors in the study calling attention to the welfare or advantages to the Negro clients.

If the information submitted by the individuals who have some responsibility or who exert influence upon the selection of personnel in these states is a true reflection of the predominant opinions that were prevalent at the time of the study, the employment opportunities for Negroes in these states are not encouraging.

Problems Confronting Workers

Administrators, personnel directors, and others were given opportunities to indicate the problems arising from the employment of Negroes in public welfare. Since these problems so vitally affected the workers, they were also requested to note some of the problems which confronted them in the securing of employment in the public welfare program. The information submitted by the workers was based on their experiences and opinions. As might be expected, there were various opinions reflecting the personalities and adjustments made by these workers. Some of them revealed a practical knowledge and analysis of the conditions existing in their communities, while others accepted the existing situation without any attempt to analyze, evaluate, or understand it.

From the information supplied by the workers, the major problems confronting Negroes in securing employment in the public welfare program of the eleven states of this study were a combination of limited opportunities and restrictions on advancement. Over 60 per cent of those reporting on this aspect of the study considered these the most important.

A worker indicated that in her community the limited possibilities for advancement beyond the case work level and the number of jobs of any kind in public welfare open to Negroes were the major obstacles confronting the group. Two workers in the same community gave their views as follows:

"There is no local school that Negroes may attend; therefore, they are handicapped."

"Lack of adequate educational facilities for Negroes is the main problem. Limited promotions are another problem. Negroes work only with Negroes, where others may have mixed case loads."

However, all of the workers did not adhere to the beliefs that limited opportunities and racial restrictions on advancement were the major problems. Many of them were able to secure a much more comprehensive picture of the situation.

A worker who had a traumatic experience gives some idea of the external forces that come to play on a public welfare program. "Politics, job insecurity, public insults endured during political campaigns, were responsible for my leaving the field of public welfare," advised this worker. This was the only worker reporting in this vein. However, there was a wide-spread belief throughout most of the states included in this study that politics were responsible for some of the major problems confronting Negroes.

Lack of adequate facilities, where rest rooms and offices for Negroes had to be maintained to meet local and state laws, were reported from seven of the 11 states as a key problem.

The need for Negroes and their organizations to become more articulate and request more jobs for their group was revealed as an increasing sentiment throughout the region. A male worker who has left the public welfare field for more lucrative employment reflects thinking in this area by citing "the failure of Negro leaders to press their rights to see that Negroes are justly employed in communities where they are needed. If they would vote they could change this."

Several workers in the various states were not able to discern any appreciable problems. "There appears to be no major obstacle, unless it could be finance," one stated. In another state, a female worker reported: "The Negro welfare workers in this community are hired on their merit. There are few people in this community who are interested in social work. There are some who are interested in the work, but did not have a major or minor in social sciences, and are unable to pass the examinations."

A number of the workers in several of the states believed that Negroes were responsible for some of the problems confronting them in the securing of employment in the public welfare program. Lack of qualified persons applying for positions and taking the merit examinations appeared to be the basis for their statements. A male worker advised that the department employing him had difficulty in securing someone to take his place while he was on educational leave.

A worker from a state in the upper area of the region points out that very few careers are available with professional training in her community. Most of the social workers in this state with professional training were interested in out-of-state employment in the North or West. From an adjacent state, a worker believed that "racial discriminations are the major problems confronting Negroes in securing employment. The Negroes in this community are not aware of the opportunities or are not interested in public welfare work." Several Negroes were employed in this community. The majority of the workers on this staff were without professional social work education and two had not earned the initial college degree.

Workers from the various states reported other reasons - low salaries, case loads too large, unwillingness of trained colored workers to accept supervision from untrained white workers, and the need for an automobile - and all of them appear to have some validity and foundation as they relate to specific workers, experiences, opinions, and locality. The traditions in the South exert some influence on the employment of Negroes in practically all public programs. This is the situation in public welfare as well as others.

As one female worker aptly put it, "The basic major problems are not in securing employment in the public welfare program, but in securing the ultimate in professional promotion on the job."

Another aspect of the problem is in the area of Negroes securing adequate professional social work education. Some of the workers realized this and called attention to it. "Vocational guidance for Negro college students is needed badly. Too many of them are preparing to teach school. Many turn to social work because there are no openings in the public school systems." This is the timely evaluation and appraisal of one of the specific problems by a female worker in a state where a number of Negroes are employed in the public welfare program.

The problems confronting Negroes in the securing of employment in public welfare may have deeper roots. These problems go farther back in our socio-economic and

cultural life. A worker has been able to see implications here. "Economic conditions are major problems of Negroes in entering public welfare. The majority of the high school graduates who are able to enter college attend teachers college. Usually, they are able to remain only four years and secure the Bachelor's degree or a teacher's certificate. They have two problems after this - lack of finances to continue their education and no knowledge of social work as a profession."

"The main handicap at present," wrote a female worker in a state where there were less than 12 Negro workers employed during the period of this study, "is not having enough counties alert to what a splendid contribution Negroes could make in this program. At present, it seems that only the larger counties are recognizing this and opening their programs to include Negro workers." She continues: "When discrimination is overcome through elimination of prejudice, then we believe there would be more opportunities for qualified Negro workers. Meanwhile, we must recognize that something must be done to enable interested Negroes to obtain graduate training that is essential to employment. Perhaps an educational leave program could be developed in this state."

Regardless of the problems that have confronted and continue to confront Negro workers in the securing of employment in the public welfare program of the numerous communities where they are employed, these workers have given them serious consideration

Educational Facilities Available in Social Work For Negroes

Studies made of personnel needs in some professions have revealed that the presence of colleges, universities, and professional schools to prepare individuals have an influence on the number of trained persons available for employment. From all indications, there are more physicians, dentists, nurses, lawyers, and ministers in communities where there are educational facilities to prepare them than in others where facilities are not available. Although a comparable study has not been made for the field of social work, it would be safe to assume that the same situation exists. The majority of the schools of social work are located in the northern and western regions of the country. Since the absence of adequate trained Negro social workers was cited by a large number of workers in practically every state, the facilities available for them to secure the necessary education should be given serious consideration.

In 1914, Tulane University in New Orleans, La., established the first school of social work in the South. This was followed by the college of William and Mary, which established the Richmond School of Social Work.⁸ Nineteen hundred and twenty witnessed the establishment of the Atlanta School of Social Work (subsequently Atlanta University School of Social Work) and the Division of Public Welfare and Social Work (later the School of Social Work) at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. During the past two decades, there have been other schools of social work under private auspices, as carried on largely in the North, continued in the South. North Carolina was among the first of the southern states to provide social work education under public sponsorship.

The Atlanta University School of Social Work is the only school located in the southern region which Negroes may attend.* This school was established in 1920

⁸Brown, Esther Lucille, Social Work as a Profession, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1942, pp. 40-43.

*Since the beginning of this study, Oklahoma, Kentucky, and Virginia have admitted Negroes to their graduate schools of social work.

by a group of social workers and other persons interested in the solution of social problems, particularly as affecting Negro life. It was largely the outgrowth of a feeling which found expression in the National Conference of Social Work held at New Orleans in the spring of 1920. There, the workers realized the tremendous need for trained colored social workers in the South. The organization of the school was hurriedly perfected and the institution opened in September 1920 with fourteen students.⁹

The economic depression of 1930 accelerated the demand for Negro social workers in the South. The Atlanta University School of Social Work attempted to meet the demand, however, students looked elsewhere for social work training. The high cost of social work education and the increased number wanting to pursue study in this area created a problem.

There were numerous factors responsible for states providing out-of-state aid to students who were desirous of pursuing graduate and professional social work studies. All of the states included in this study provide out-of-state financial aid or scholarships to Negro students to study social work at the schools of their choice, except Georgia, Tennessee, South Carolina, and Mississippi. Georgia provides scholarship aid for Negroes to attend the Atlanta University School of Social Work only. South Carolina and Tennessee do not provide any aid. Mississippi assists its citizens to secure social work education through a state subsidy plan. It provides financial assistance to those wishing to enter the public welfare program.

According to information available, the following states have provided financial assistance to Negro students to study social work:

⁹Larkins, John R., A Study of the Employment of Negroes in Social Work, 1930-1940, unpublished Master thesis, Atlanta University School of Social Work. 1941, p.4.

<u>States</u>	<u>Year Started</u>	<u>Number of Students*</u>	<u>Amount of Funds</u>
Alabama	1945	34	Not reported
Arkansas	1944	17	\$ 2,922.00
Florida	1945	7	1,270.25
Georgia	1944	Not reported	Not reported
Kentucky	1936	36	9,000.00
Louisiana	1946	14	-
Mississippi	-	-	-
North Carolina	1939	126	12,813.02
South Carolina	-	-	-
Tennessee	-	-	-
Virginia	1936	115	15,262.48

*This is the total number of students assisted by these states from the beginning of the program to August 1950.

It was not possible from the data available to determine the exact number of students attending schools of social work, the schools they attended, and the amount of funds expended for each student, in all of the states of this study. The data that were available revealed that some provisions were made by the majority of the states to assist Negroes to pursue studies in social work. Practically all of these states offered educational scholarships through the Divisions of Child Welfare of the state agencies. These scholarships are made available through financial grants from the United States Children's Bureau. The states have the responsibility of selecting the recipients.

The inadequacy of social work educational facilities in these states for Negroes is a justifiable complaint by many of these workers. There were 10 accredited schools of social work in these states at the time of this study. Only one admitted Negro students.

Part V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary and Conclusions

This study has been concerned primarily with securing data on the characteristics of the workers and on major factors in the employment situation as evaluated by the administrators and workers.

The problems confronted by workers, administrators, and the general community in the employment and advancement of Negroes in public welfare continue to have their roots in our total heritage. Many individuals may raise the question, why all of this concern? These findings and their implications demonstrate both the promise and problems to be found in the employment of Negroes in public welfare, the largest employer of social work personnel in these eleven states. It was not possible, in this study, to compare white and colored workers in public welfare, and arrive at some general conclusions. It is however safe to assume that there were and continue to be generic problems - inadequate appropriations, lack of facilities, lack of public understanding - confronted by all workers and administrators in public welfare. Along with these, there are some "social problems" peculiarly related to Negroes.

The findings of this study revealed that there was no relation between the number and distribution of Negro social workers employed in the public welfare programs and the size of the general Negro population. The states employing the smallest number of workers had the largest per cent of Negroes in their total populations.

In the 11 states included in this study, Negroes were largely rural dwellers. Over 90 per cent of the workers were born, had resided, and were employed in urban areas.

Based on returns of questionnaires, the largest number of Negroes employed in public welfare were in Louisiana, with North Carolina second. The workers were employed in 16 counties in North Carolina compared with two in Louisiana. The two counties in Georgia employing the largest number of workers did not return questionnaires.

Women greatly outnumbered men in public welfare. This is true also of the total field of public welfare.

The types of jobs held by the workers were interesting and revealing. Slightly over 67 per cent (139) were employed as general case workers. Child welfare workers ranked second - about 16 per cent were in this category. Three per cent had been able to advance beyond the case work level. There were five supervisors and two administrators in these categories. Three supervisors were in Louisiana and two were in Virginia. North Carolina was the only state with a Negro on the administrative staff of the state agency. This individual was employed as a special consultant.

Because of the small numbers of Negro workers, the opportunities for the advancement of Negroes to supervisory and administrative positions were slight. For those who wished to move forward to higher positions, it was almost mandatory to leave the region. However, the job mobility of the workers was relatively small.

The average (median) length of time that all of the workers had been on their jobs was 2.7 years. Slightly over 40 per cent had been employed for a shorter period and about 35 per cent exceeded the median. Ten per cent had been employed for a period exceeding 10 years.

It was not possible to compare the monthly salaries of the workers in public welfare with those in similar professions, i.e. teaching, preaching, law, medicine, nursing, and other social work pursuits. The average (median) monthly salary for all workers gainfully employed was \$197.72. Approximately 45 per cent of the workers earned salaries exceeding the median. Only two per cent were receiving monthly salaries exceeding \$300. There were four in this category, three engaged in social work and one as a teacher. The three workers earning over \$300 monthly in social work were employed by the Federal government - two psychiatric case workers with veterans' hospitals and a counselor with the Juvenile Court in the District of Columbia. Practically all of the individuals earning salaries below the median were case workers. They were classified largely as case work trainees or assistants.

The workers employed in the supervisory, administrative, and specialized social work areas earned the larger salaries. Two males employed as letter carriers with the United States Post Office service received salaries of \$281-300 monthly.

Of the 20 workers whose job tenure exceeded 10 years, none of them received less than the average (median) monthly salary range; nine were in the \$181-200 range where the median was located, while 11 exceeded this range.

The total length of time each was employed and the number of jobs each held in social work revealed that these workers did not leave social work for other fields too readily, nor did they transfer from job to job. Over 50 per cent held one job during their total work history. Only one had had over six jobs. Less than 25 per cent had held two jobs. Of the 48 in this category, one-fourth had been working in the present job over 10 years.

There have been numerous discussions relative to the minimum academic or educational requirements for social workers. The prerequisites for employment in social work vary from state to state. There were other factors influencing the amount of educational preparation necessary to secure employment in the various agencies in these states. The extent of need and supply of available workers, location of colleges, universities, or professional schools were among these.

It was not possible to compare the educational achievements of white and colored workers connected with the public welfare programs in this region. However, it seems safe to assume that the Negroes were as well qualified (academically) as others. It has been generally accepted that the majority of Negroes employed in the public welfare programs of these states had better educational backgrounds than many whites because of the competition for jobs.

According to the data on educational achievements, the Negro workers were well-qualified to do their jobs. Of the 294 for whom information was available, only 29, or 14 per cent, had not earned a college degree. All of these workers had attended college for a period of one year or more. Thirteen of this number had secured special

social work education through accredited schools ranging from periods of two years to less than nine months. Over 18 per cent of the workers had earned masters' degrees. Over two-thirds of these degrees were in the field of social work.

There appeared to have been a close relationship between educational achievements and age of the workers. Over 50 per cent of the workers without college degrees exceeded 45 years of age. All of the workers below 30 years of age had college degrees - 30.4 per cent of the total workers were less than 30.

One hundred and eleven of the workers had pursued social work education for periods ranging from less than three months to sufficient time to earn masters' degrees and beyond. Thirty-nine per cent had attended the Atlanta University School of Social Work. Twenty-five of these had earned masters' degrees in social work.

The relationship between educational achievements and monthly salaries was not close. One of the four workers earning over \$300 per month had a master's degree, two had two-year diplomas in social work, and the teacher, who was a supervisor, held the bachelor's degree. Thirty-eight workers held masters' degrees - of this number, 15 earned salaries exceeding the monthly median (average) salary of \$197.72, and 15 were below this figure. There were eight in the salary range \$181-200 in which the median (average) was located.

The methods or approaches used by workers to secure their current positions did not reflect a great degree of uniformity. Usually, a combination of methods was used to secure employment. Forty-one per cent made direct application to the agency to secure their present positions. Merit system referrals secured positions for 32.5 per cent. School or university placements accounted for the smallest number of placements, 2.1 per cent.

Family reasons were responsible for 42.6 per cent of the workers returning to their home communities to work. Slightly less than one-third reported that they returned home because they liked living at home.

Over 38 per cent did not return to their home communities to secure employment because of the poor opportunities, if any, that were available. Better opportunities elsewhere accounted for 18.7 per cent of the reasons that workers left their home communities.

Approximately two-thirds of the workers reported membership status in professional organizations. Of the 189 reporting, over 50 per cent held one or more memberships. Although Louisiana had the largest number of workers returning questionnaires, less than one-sixth held memberships in professional organizations. Over two-thirds of the workers reporting from Virginia and slightly less than this number from North Carolina were members of professional organizations.

The largest number of workers holding memberships did so in State Conferences of Social Work - here were to be found over 44 per cent. There were 14.7 per cent reporting membership in the American Association of Social Workers. Various reasons were given by those with non-membership status; ineligibility to join, lack of finances, racial identity and other factors were cited.

Seventy-one per cent had not made any contribution to social work, via papers, speeches, articles, etc., and four per cent did not supply information on this item. About 25 per cent reported contributions to social work or related fields. Slightly over 5 per cent had presented papers and the same per cent had made speeches.

Ninety-two per cent of the workers were born in the states included in this study. One hundred and forty-six (70.9 per cent) were living in their state of birth at the time of this study. Less than 5 per cent had transferred from the South to other regions.

Thirty per cent of the workers were less than 30 years of age, while 8.7 per cent exceeded 50 years of age. The largest number in any group was in the 30-34 age range, 22.8 per cent. Thus the workers employed in the public welfare program were relatively young.

The workers were "marrying people" - 66.5 per cent reported themselves married and 22.3 per cent were single. Slightly over 11 per cent were separated, widowed, divorced, or re-married. All of these were women.

The pattern set by other professional and middle class Americans of having small families was followed by these workers. Of the 160 who were married, separated, widowed, divorced, or re-married, 73, or 45.6 per cent did not have children. Over 23 per cent of the total number of workers who were married, separated, divorced, widowed, or re-married, reported one child. Slightly over 21 per cent had two children. Five reported four children and two exceeded this number - of this number, one had six children and the other five.

Twenty-three of the male workers were married. Almost one-third of their wives were not in the labor force, but reported themselves as housewives. The largest number of wives gainfully employed were school teachers with eight engaged in this profession. Social work ranked second to teaching for those employed with four wives engaged in social work pursuits.

Nearly one-fourth (28) of the married, divorced, and separated female workers reported the vocations of their husbands under other. Other included numerous occupations and professions. The largest number in a specific vocation were postal employees - 16.1 per cent were in this category. "Business" was reported by 13.1 per cent and teaching by 12.4 per cent.

Although 95 per cent of the administrators where Negroes had been employed indicated that their services had been satisfactory, the majority did not believe it wise or practical to increase the number employed. The administrators did not believe they could increase their staffs or replace Negro workers because:

- (1) appropriations were inadequate;
- (2) limited case load of Negro clients did not justify an increase;
- (3) community attitudes and reactions were not receptive to the idea;
- (4) physical facilities were not conducive to an increase.

Forty-eight per cent of those reporting on this item endorsed an increase or replacement of Negro personnel. The following reasons were given to substantiate their statements:

- (1) It would improve services offered members of this group.
- (2) It would stimulate an interest on the part of Negroes in the public welfare program.
- (3) There is a need for more Negro social workers.
- (4) There are possibilities of securing better interpretation and support of the program through employment of Negroes.
- (5) The general community has indicated an interest in this aspect of the program.

The Negro workers had proved satisfactory in practically all areas: performance of duties, ability to work with staff and board members, good client-worker and effective community relationships.

Less than 5 per cent of the workers had been unsatisfactory when these tests were applied to them. A small number of the administrators attached racial significance to some of the reasons for unsatisfactory experiences with Negro workers.

A few of the administrators believed that Negro workers were punitive and intolerant of their clients. Others believed that they were over-sympathetic and emotional and had a tendency to identify themselves with clients. In all probability, these traits or behavior patterns were reflected in the behavior and attitudes of the workers toward their clients in some communities. However, these attitudes or traits may be discovered in any group of social workers. These are undesirable traits in all social workers. The extent or degree to which they appear or exist among any group of social workers varies considerably.

The stereotyped conceptions of administrators concerning the thinking or attitudes of Negroes relative to professional members of their groups - i.e., doctors, dentists, lawyers, and social workers - were revealing. A considerable number of administrators advised that Negro recipients of public welfare services preferred white case workers. They also inferred that Negro professional and business personnel were distrusted and disrespected by members of their own race. There were possibilities of this situation existing in some communities, but it may be assumed that this is not a universal

feeling or attitude among the general Negro population. All reports, studies, and available factors point toward a greater acceptance and utilization of Negro professional services by members of their own race.

Although the administrators were requested to make suggestions relative to methods or approaches that would assist Negroes in securing employment in the public welfare program, very few made any suggestions. The development of a total program so that the general staff could be increased and a Negro worker employed; the changing of community attitudes toward Negroes; working out specialized programs; attention of Negro leaders to the need for personnel to serve them; the need for Negroes to improve their basic education and secure social work training; and a program of community interpretation of the satisfactory results achieved by using Negroes in other agencies, were some of the suggestions made in this area.

Problems which confronted the workers varied among workers and communities. The major problems confronting workers, according to the workers themselves, were as follows:

- (1) racial discrimination;
- (2) lack of respect for the achievements and abilities of Negroes;
- (3) acceptance of supervision from individuals with less education and experience;
- (4) inability to advance beyond case work level;
- (5) low salaries that accompany case work positions;
- (6) general community attitudes and conditions related to working in public welfare in this region;
- (7) the absence of opportunities to participate in professional institutes, meetings, and organizations;
- (8) lack of support of Negro community leaders both in the securing of employment in public welfare and after a worker was on the job;
- (9) the absence of professional schools of social work in the region, resulting in many being unable to change their classifications by securing more education;
- (10) general attitudes of the other staff members, the community, and clients were discouraging.

All of these problems were not necessarily applicable to any one community; however, many of them existed to some extent and degree in all communities.

Obviously, these conditions cannot be ascribed to any single cause or even to several causes. They are complex problems arising from the interaction of many different elements in our society.

What approach or what methods could be used to ameliorate and eradicate many of the problems confronted by administrators and the Negro public welfare workers in the South? If we are to improve and increase the employment opportunities in public welfare for Negroes in this region, a sound approach must be made on the basic causes responsible for the difficulties. The gathering of data with which to explain the needs must be continued. Interpretation of these data by various media must be carried out. Negroes should become better informed in this area of government. Social work educational facilities accessible to Negroes need to be provided.

There is much to be done. At the same time, the basic principle and criteria of employment and advancement will continue to be individual ability.

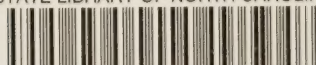
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